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## INTERNATIONAL LAW AND INTERNATIONAL EXASPERATION.

WE have witnessed with supreme satisfaction the behaviour of the better portion of the English people and the wiser portion of the English press under the natural excitement and irritation produced by the first news of the affair of the *Trent* and the *San Jacinto*. Of course everywhere there must be foolish and ill-informed persons, and we are not surprised to find the Liverpool Stock Exchange and the *Morning Herald* taking a leading part in a display of unreasoning absurdity. But, on the whole, the public mind of England and its public instructors have conducted themselves in this conjuncture in a manner worthy of their reputation and their responsibilities. Of course no country can be altogether without a class of journals which live by sensation paragraphs, but the real leaders of public opinion have shown their sense both of duty and power by endeavouring, in a moment of popular passion, to reason with and inform instead of truckling to and inflaming public indignation. We may well be proud of the contrast between the tone in which this question has been discussed at the outset by the *Times*, and the temper in which a similar event would have been treated by the New York press. The better portion of the English people wish to have in their public journals intelligent teachers and not ignorant parasites. A people is indeed free who, in the moment of irritation, can listen to the voice of reason and justice. Such a nation is fit to govern the world, for it shows that it knows how to govern itself. In our judgment the *Times* has rendered a signal public service by its wise and prudent moderation. By a timely appeal to the sense of justice and the love of law inherent in the English mind, it has saved the country from the disgrace of an ignorant outburst of unjustifiable indignation. These are the triumphs of which a great journal may be justly proud. It is well to have a giant's power when it is thus employed. Happy the nation which can bear with patience the restraint of law, and which can endure from its teachers and its governors the language of truth!

The first impression produced on the public mind by the intelligence of the affair of the *Trent* and the *San Jacinto* was no doubt of a most painful and disagreeable character. It is not too much to say that on Wednesday afternoon all un-lawyered London was crying out for war and vengeance. But a little time for reflection and information has moderated what proves after all to have been a somewhat ignorant impatience. The truth is that the present generation has been so far removed from experience of the practical evils of war—for, indeed, the Russian quarrel was shut up in an out of the way corner of the world—that it is only the careful students of history and law who possess a real knowledge of what is and what is not permitted to belligerent nations. Yet an ignorance of the simple and elementary propositions of international law is likely, as between this country and the rival combatants in America, to produce a state of exasperation in the public mind which may result in most serious consequences.

The office of a journalist—at least, of a journalist who rightly appreciates his responsibilities—is to inform the judgment, and not to inflame the passions of the public he pretends to instruct. If we attempt to perform that task in regard to this affair of the *Trent* it is especially because we think it unworthy of a great and powerful nation to give itself up to a passion of anger in a case where it

is possible that we may have nothing of which we can justly complain.

In the contest between the Federal and the Confederate States of America, England has very wisely assumed the position of a neutral. A neutral nation—especially in the case of a country which has a great maritime commerce—enjoys great advantages from the carrying trade which it naturally engrosses during the war. On the other hand, it is subject to certain inconveniences which it is impossible to escape, because they are imposed upon it by the settled, and well-established principles of the law of nations, and against which it is especially idle for England to declaim, because she has always taken the most prominent part in maintaining and enforcing them. The truth is that England has been so incessantly a belligerent power in all the great contests of the world that her individual experience of the duties of a neutral is very scanty and recent. We may be disposed to regret the principles we have established against ourselves, and to exclaim, “*Quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam* ;” but we cannot in decency refuse to abide by the laws we have made.

Lord Stowell, in the case of the *Maria*, speaking of the pretensions of a neutral convoy to protect itself by the flag of the man-of-war with which it sails, says :—

“I am not ignorant that amongst the loose doctrines which modern fancy, under the various denominations of philosophy and philanthropy, and I know not what, have thrown upon the world, it has been within these few years advanced, or rather insinuated, that it might possibly be well if such a security (i.e. of the man-of-war's flag) were accepted. Upon such unauthorized speculations it is not necessary for me to descant. The law and practice of nations (I include particularly the practice of Sweden, when it happens to be belligerent), gives them no sort of countenance; and, until that law and practice are new modelled, in such a way as may surrender the known and ancient rights of some nations to the present convenience of other nations (which nations may, perhaps, remember to forget when they happen to be themselves belligerent), no reverence is due to them; they are the elements of that system which, if it is consistent, has for its real purpose an entire abolition of capture in war.”

It does not become us, after this, to “remember to forget” the language which we employed, and the practice we pursued, when we were ourselves belligerents, nor to compromise the rights which, when we became belligerents again, it may be our interest once more to assert.

One of the great but inevitable evils to which a neutral country is subject, is the liability of its mercantile marine to the right of visitation and search (and in some cases, of capture), by the ships of war of both the belligerent powers. The captain of the *Trent* seems to have been ignorant that the commander of the *San Jacinto* had a clear and unquestionable right to visit and search the steam-packet. This is a principle for which the English Government has at all times successfully struggled, and as a belligerent has most unequivocally affirmed. We cannot with any decency now pretend to question, as neutrals, a right which as belligerents we have loudly proclaimed and stoutly insisted upon. The principles which regulate the right of search in time of war are laid down by Chancellor Kent with his usual accuracy and precision.

“Kent, Commentaries, p. 153.

“In order to enforce the rights of belligerent nations against the delinquencies of neutrals, and to ascertain the real as well as assumed character of all vessels on the high seas, the law of nations arms them with the practical power of visitation and search. The duty of self-preservation gives to belligerent nations this right. It is founded on necessity, and is strictly and exclusively a war right, and does not rightfully exist in time of peace, unless conceded by treaty. All writers upon the law of nations, and the highest authorities, acknowledge the right in time of war as resting on sound principles of public jurisprudence, and





upon the institutes and practice of all great maritime powers. And if upon making the search the vessel be found employed in contraband trade, or in carrying enemy's property, or troops, or despatches, she is liable to be taken and brought in for adjudication before a prize court. Neutral nations have frequently been disposed to question and resist the exercise of this right. This was particularly the case with the Baltic Confederacy during the American war, and with the convention of the Baltic powers in 1801. The right of search was denied, and the flag of the State was declared to be a substitute for all documentary and other proof, and to exclude all right of search. Those powers armed for the purpose of defending these neutral pretensions, and England did not hesitate to consider it as an attempt to introduce by force a new code of maritime law inconsistent with her belligerent rights, and hostile to her interests, and one which would go to extinguish the right of maritime capture. The attempt was speedily frustrated and abandoned, and the right of search has since that time been considered incontrovertible.

Every belligerent power has a right to insist on the only security known to the law of nations on this subject, independent of any special covenant, and that is the right of personal visitation and search to be exercised by those who have an interest in making it. The penalty for the violent contravention of this right is the confiscation of the property so withheld from visitation; and the infliction of the penalty is conformable to the settled practice of nations as well as to the principles of the municipal jurisprudence of most countries in Europe. There may be cases in which the master of a neutral ship may be authorized by the natural right of self-preservation to defend himself against extreme violence threatened by a cruiser grossly abusing his commission; but except in extreme cases, a merchant vessel has no right to say for itself, and an armed vessel has no right to say for it, that it will not submit to visitation or search, or be carried into a proximate port for judicial inquiry. Upon these principles a fleet of Swedish merchant ships sailing under a convoy of a Swedish ship of war, and under instructions from the Swedish Government to resist by force the right of search claimed by British lawfully commissioned cruisers, was condemned. The instance of the convoying ship was a resistance of the whole convoy, and justly subjected the whole to confiscation."

The limitations to this right are ascertained with equal precision:—

"The exercise of the right of visitation and search must be conducted with due care and regard to the rights and safety of the vessels. If the neutral has acted with candour and good faith, and the inquiry has been wrongly pursued, the belligerent cruiser is responsible to the neutral in costs and damages to be assessed by the prize court which sustains the judicial examination. The mere exercise of the right of search involves the cruiser in no trespass, for it is strictly lawful; but if he proceeds to capture the vessel as prize, and sends her in for adjudication, and there be no probable cause, he is responsible. It is not the search, but the subsequent capture, which is treated in such a case as a tortious act."

It has been said that the Americans themselves have been in the habit of resisting the right as against themselves which they have just exercised. But this is a mistake. Persons inaccurately acquainted with the questions of international law have confounded the very distinct rights of visitation and search in time of war and in time of peace. We did at one time insist on a right of visitation in order to search for slaves on board American vessels in time of peace. The Americans always resisted, and denied the right of search in time of peace, and in the opinion of most lawyers on good grounds. But neither the Americans, nor any other nation in the world, have ever questioned the right of a belligerent to search a neutral vessel. Our pretensions have always carried the right of search, both in peace and in war, much further than the Americans have been willing to admit. But the case of the *Trent* and the *San Jacinto* is clearly within even the restricted right which the Americans have always conceded.

Now, this being clear and unquestionable law—law, as it will be observed, founded mainly on English decisions—it is evident that Captain Moir was quite in the wrong to oppose any obstacles, by refusing to show his list of passengers or otherwise, to the visitation and search of the captain of the *San Jacinto*. As a neutral merchantman, the captain of the *Trent* had nothing to do but to submit cheerfully to being stopped and searched by the captain of the belligerent man of war. The resistance which Captain Moir, from a misapprehension of his rights, offered, or attempted to offer, might have seriously compromised his rights in case the *San Jacinto* had thought fit to carry the *Trent* into an American port to be adjudicated upon in an American prize court. For in the celebrated case of the Swedish convoy referred to in the passages we have quoted from Kent, Lord Stowell decided that the resistance on the part of the convoying vessel of war to the search by the British cruiser was a ground for the condemnation of the whole convoy, which was involved in that resistance. And further, that it was not necessary that an actual resistance should have taken place, but that a threat of resistance, which yielded to superior force, was enough to condemn the vessels. It is highly desirable that the Government should take some steps to make the captains of our merchant vessels acquainted with the real state of the law, and to warn them of the danger of resisting demands, the justice of which cannot be disputed.

So far, then, it is quite clear that in firing a shot across the bows of the *Trent*—the ordinary method by which a man of war compels a vessel to bring-to—and in proceeding to search the steam-packet, the *San Jacinto* was guilty of nothing of which we have any right to complain. Indeed, if the American captain had there and then carried the *Trent* into the port of New York, there to be adjudicated upon in a prize court, he would have done only what he was strictly entitled to do. And if it had turned out that the nature of the cargo and the character of the ship did not justify the capture, the

only remedy, as is pointed out by Kent, would be the costs and damages which would be assigned by the prize court to the captured vessel.

It has been suggested that the seizure of the Commissioners, even if lawful, on account of their hostile character, was not properly conducted, and that the *San Jacinto* ought to have carried the *Trent* into some American port for judicial condemnation. We confess it seems to us hardly to lie in our mouth to raise such an objection. The injury to British property and the inconvenience to British subjects, would have been far greater if the American captain had insisted on taking the *Trent* to New York instead of allowing her to continue her voyage to Southampton. The vessel and cargo would probably have been condemned. The British owners would have irreparably lost their property, and the British passengers would have suffered enormous inconvenience. That the *San Jacinto* might have legally carried the *Trent* into New York is certainly true, but it seems to us equally clear that we cannot make a grievance of her having abstained to do so injurious an act. Indeed, conceding as we must, that the American captain had a right to stop the *Trent*, he seems to have done as little injury to British interests as the nature of the transaction admitted.

But there still remains behind another and a very important question, viz., as to the lawfulness of the seizure of the Southern Commissioners; and this question, it must be confessed, does not admit of a solution by any means so clear and decisive as that of which we have just disposed. There has been a long-standing quarrel between the lawyers and statesmen of England and the United States as to the extent of the right of capture exercised as against neutrals—the English, as usual, contending for the most extensive rights of the belligerents, and the Americans, always up to this time insisting on the largest privileges for the neutrals. The different views entertained by the two countries up to this day is thus explained in a note to Kent's commentaries:—

"The Government of the United States admits the right of visitation and search by belligerent Government vessels of their private merchant vessels for enemy's property, contraband of war, or men in the land or naval service of the enemy. But it does not understand the law of nations to authorize the right of search for subjects or seamen. England, on the other hand, asserts the right to look for her subjects on the high seas, into whatever service they may wander, and will not renounce it."

The English have always maintained, and the Americans have always denied, the right of a belligerent ship to search for and take its own subjects out of a neutral vessel. If the Federal Government choose to regard the Southern Commissioners as their own subjects, then they could only justify their act by insisting on the doctrine which their Government have always denied. And the English Government can only complain of the transaction by repudiating the view of the law for which we have always contended; and for the maintenance of which, indeed, in 1812, we went to war with the United States. This certainly would not be a creditable position for either Government to occupy. But it is not on this ground, probably, that the Americans will rest their defence. There is another principle to which they may possibly appeal with success. It is quite clear that the neutral flag cannot be used to cover either property or persons who are devoted to the purpose of promoting the hostile views and preparations of one of the belligerents.

It is admitted, even by those who have contended most strenuously for the privileges of the neutral flag, that it cannot protect either goods which are contraband of war, or persons engaged in the land or naval service of one of the belligerents, or emissaries carrying instructions or despatches. The question is whether the principle, which makes such persons and goods liable to capture even under a neutral flag, applies to individuals in the position of the Southern Commissioners. It may be said on the one hand that they are not occupied in the land or naval service of the belligerent, and that no despatches were in fact found upon them. But, on the other hand, it may be argued with much force, that their very title and occupation connects them sufficiently closely with the forwarding of hostile operations to justify their capture. Whether the Southern Commissioners who had just run the blockade were actually occupied in the business of the war against the United States, is a question of fact rather than of law, the decision of which would probably be materially influenced by the nature of the tribunal which had to adjudicate on it. But in truth the great difficulty in the way of the captors has been in fact removed by the confession of the individuals captured. From the moment that Messrs. Sidell and his friends acknowledged themselves to be Commissioners, i.e., emissaries from one of the belligerent parties, their seizure became lawful. In ordinary cases the proof is made by the discovery of despatches on the party seized. But if the character of the persons is clearly established, as in this case, by their own confession, all need for proof by despatches is superseded. It certainly would be a strange doctrine, that while you are at liberty to seize the despatches, you are bound to set free the messenger, who probably carries their contents in his memory. A man may carry instructions in his head just as well as in written papers. And such a man is, in fact, neither more nor less than a living despatch. It is difficult, certainly, to understand



how, if the despatch is contraband, the emissary can be innocent. And if you can by any means clearly establish that he is the bearer of instructions, it signifies not whether they exist in documents, or in his own breast. It is this proof which the Commissioners, by their own confession, have supplied. It has been objected that the captain of the *Trent* might have been ignorant of the contraband character of his passengers. In the first place, as a fact, this is highly improbable. But in the second place, it is wholly immaterial. A captain who carries secret contraband is not absolved from condemnation, by ignorance of the character of his cargo. If a captain carries gunpowder in a barrel labelled soft soap, it will be liable to seizure. And if he should ship on board a seeming Quaker gentleman, who in fact turns out to be a belligerent emissary, he must answer for it.

We have said enough to show that it is doubtful whether there is anything in this transaction of which we have a right to complain. At all events it is not such a case of outrage as to absolve us from the duty of discussing it with temper and moderation. The preservation of our friendly relations with the United States is a matter of infinite importance, and not to be perilled by petulance or passion. We in this country have been sufficiently in the habit of censuring the blustering and bullying of American orators and the American press. We hope that in this juncture we shall not imitate their bad example. As belligerents we have always enforced with strictness our rights against neutrals. As neutrals we cannot fairly refuse to submit to the law we have ourselves laid down. A proud and powerful nation can afford to be calm without fearing the imputation of want of spirit, and to be just without the suspicion of cowardice.

#### MIDDLE CLASS EDUCATION.

IF prolonged and thoughtful discussion always resulted in shedding light upon an obscure and intricate subject, and if it invariably led to the removal of acknowledged difficulties, we should not be still making ineffectual attempts to solve the great educational problem. Never did a question receive more careful attention from public men. Most of them have expressed their opinions and offered their advice freely, and if it be true that in the multiplicity of counsellors there is wisdom, we ought not to be groping our way in the dark at the present hour. The simple truth, however, is that even the legislature is swayed by divided opinions with regard to the best means of raising the standard of education, and of extending its advantages among that portion of the community which has been hitherto the most neglected. The hubbub of discordant opinions concerning the new educational code has scarcely yet died away, and it is certain to be renewed before the session of 1862 is opened. There is only one point upon which all agree—the necessity of providing the “lower middle classes” with suitable means of education. Everybody is ready to acknowledge that these are the persons who have been neglected. The lowest class receive Government aid—the upper classes have the public schools and universities open to them—but the bulk of the nation must continue to send their children to such “academies” and “colleges” as lie within the reach of their means. They know that the schoolmaster is often an illiterate man himself, or a pedant utterly unable to impart knowledge to others, but there is no alternative open to them. They must use these schools or send their children into the world without any education at all. The latter course is one which very few parents of ordinary humanity would consent to follow. The necessity of a good education is greater now than ever it has been, and it often requires no inconsiderable amount of learning to enable a candidate for the civil service to compete even against the children of the very poor. The man who neglects to make this important provision for his offspring inflicts a life-long injury upon them, and sends them to take part in a struggle in which they must necessarily be worsted. Unfortunately, it is rarely in the power of a person of average means to obtain the services of scholars of real ability in the instruction of his sons. He is willing to do all he can, but when he has done this the result is not very satisfactory. The Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, who professes great anxiety lest he should by any chance give help to those who are able to help themselves, fully recognizes the claims of the middle classes. We ought to do for other men, he tells us, what they cannot do for themselves, “and that rule should be applied with liberality on the side of excess rather than on the side of defect.” These are the not very choice sentences attributed to Dr. Jeune, and few of our readers will dissent, we apprehend, from the opinion conveyed in them. Indeed, that opinion is gaining so extensively the approbation of the “higher” classes, that we have reason to look for a total removal, ere many years have elapsed, of an evil that has already produced unpleasant consequences. One middle class college has been established, and to this parents are invited to send their children in order that they may receive, at a moderate cost, a thoroughly good and useful education.

There is much that is to be commended in the principles upon which St. Nicolas College was founded and is conducted. It is intended to be self-supporting, to be cheap, to be efficient, and to secure the confidence of parents by the liberal spirit of its manage-

ment. It has already been in existence twelve years; and the only surprising circumstance in connection with it is that very few people know anything whatever about it. There can be no mistake, however, with regard to the fact that the object of those who founded the institution is not to offer its advantages to all denominations of the middle class. It is exclusively for the benefit of those who desire to receive religious training in conformity with the doctrines of the Church of England. It is even suspected that there is a strong taint of Puseyism pervading the establishment, and the *Times* does not altogether avow its disbelief in the assertion that the practice of confession is imposed upon the students. Certain it is that the importance of “clerical supervision” is obstinately maintained by the principal supporters of the college. Mr. Gladstone is very explicit upon this subject. “I think it a wise rule,” he says, “that, as we are to carry downwards the character of a public school to the lowest point in society to which it can be made applicable, so likewise we should carry downwards the application of the important principle that it is desirable to keep a large—I will say the principal—part of the education of the higher classes, and of all classes capable of receiving it, in the hands and under the direction of the clergy. As I understand it, it is not that a layman may not be a pious, an intelligent, and able teacher, but it is that we want guarantees that are both intelligible and permanent. \* \* \* It is our business to offer them (the middle classes) institutions which on their very front and forehead shall bear the assurance that within their precincts is to be given a religious education, and that that religious education is understood in the sense in which it has ever been understood by the people of England. Of that religious education, the communication of instruction, in a large part, by the clergy is, in my mind, an essential, powerful, and absolutely indispensable security.” This is a frank and straightforward exposition of the principles which are being carried out in St. Nicolas College. Parents may know what they have to expect from this place of instruction. If they object to have their children educated as Churchmen, then St. Nicolas College shuts its doors to them. They cannot have access to its privileges.

It is very plain that an institution such as this, and any number of institutions of the kind, cannot supply what the middle classes in general require. Let the Church establish as many colleges as it thinks proper for the dissemination of its doctrines, but do not let us be told that this is meeting a great difficulty of the age in an effectual manner and in a liberal spirit. We entirely concur with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in attaching the utmost importance to the inculcation of religious principles in our youth. They should be taught to place their chief reliance on the Supreme Power, and to recognize its guidance in all the affairs of life; but there is a wide difference of opinion as to the proper method of conveying these lessons. Clerical supervision, again, is an excellent thing in the eyes of those who founded St. Nicolas College, but many thousands would have the strongest possible objection to it. For sons of Churchmen the school at Lancing is all that could be desired, and we have no doubt that it will eventually be ranked on a pretty nearly an equality with other public schools. But appeals to the general public for funds with which to carry on the institution are not likely to be responded to very liberally. It is for “class” education; but not for the great body of the middle classes. Dissenters, and persons of other denominations, may copy it as an example but its doors are practically closed to them. In time they will, no doubt, found schools of their own, but it is evident that the establishment of St. Nicolas College is not the grand and comprehensive measure which the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have us believe. It will be a first-rate school, under clerical supervision, and we must repeat that its promoters seem prepared to carry this principle to its extreme point. “It is not enough,” observes Mr. Gladstone, “when a school is opened, that it should be placed under the supervision of one who is called, and properly called, by the title of reverend. We have a right, I think, to expect from the founder of public schools that he will likewise take efficient guarantees for placing them in harmony, not simply with what he conceives to be the general sense of the Church, but also with its local organization, distributed throughout the country.” And to give practical effect to the system, we learn that “Mr. Woodard has made it an elementary and indispensable principle in all his efforts that the schools to be founded shall be put under the superintendence or visitation of the bishop of the diocese.” This is well enough, so far as it goes, but it is leaving the middle classes exactly as they were before; and it is quite clear that the Dotheboys halls of the country are in no immediate danger of being superseded.

#### THE FEDERAL SUCCESS IN THE SEA ISLANDS.

THE Great Federal Armada, after being sorely buffeted by the storm that broke out within two days of its departure, has successfully, and with very few casualties, effected a landing at the city of Beaufort, in the heart of the Sea Islands. The district is famous for the growth of the finest long-staple cotton that the world produces, and Beaufort has the advantage, for Federal purposes, of



being within easy distance of two most important cities,—Savannah, in Georgia, which lies about nineteen miles to the south, and Charleston, in South Carolina, situated about seventy-five miles to the north. The district is densely peopled with negroes, employed in the cultivation of Sea Island cotton and rice, and the few planters who own the land and the slaves are among the richest in America. The Sea Islands themselves are considered healthy, but the mainland to the west of them is one immense swamp, intersected by sluggish rivers, from the vicinity of which every man and woman of European blood endeavours to escape, at the first blush of spring, to avoid the fatal embrace of yellow fever. The objects of the Northern Government, in occupying this district, are not only to create a diversion of the Confederate forces on the Potomac, and to carry the war into what the New York papers call "Africa," but to open a cotton port to the commerce of the world.

The first of these objects has been attained. The Federal Government has achieved a real victory; effected a lodgement in a vital point of the enemy's territory; vindicated its ability to plan and its strength to carry out a great enterprise; alarmed the whole Atlantic coast of the seceded States; and compelled the Confederate Government to make great and immediate efforts for the protection and defence of Savannah and Charleston—especially of the latter—of which the capture and destruction would be the one event in the war next to the total rout of the Confederate army on the Potomac, which would be hailed throughout the North with the most ferocious satisfaction. But the spirit of the South seems equal to the emergency. The invaders have obtained possession of the soil, but no more. The great cotton and rice estates have been laid waste by their owners. Their houses have been burned by their own hands, and the beautiful little city of Beaufort has been all but levelled with the ground, that it may not afford shelter during the winter months to the forces of the North. Savannah is more vulnerable than Charleston, but is capable of a protracted defence; while Charleston, the great focus and birth-place of secession, will, if attacked, task the whole disposable naval and military strength of the Federal Government to capture it. Nature and art combine to make it as difficult for an enemy to subdue as Sebastopol itself, which so long defied the united efforts of two of the finest armies and the finest fleet in the world; and should the worst come to the worst, its citizens threaten that they will emulate the self-sacrifice of Moscow, rather than yield more to its invaders than a heap of ashes.

But while the primary results of the expedition are so far satisfactory to the pride of the North, the secondary results of opening a cotton port, or ports, to the commerce of Europe (and New England, which is as greatly in want of cotton as Manchester), is not likely to justify the expectations of Mr. Lincoln's Government. The Southerners are so thoroughly in earnest, and so desperately determined to achieve their independence at any cost, that there seems every probability that they will burn their cotton in case of need, as readily as they have burned their farms and cities. They have no objection, but the contrary, to sell cotton to Europeans who run the blockade, but they strenuously object to allowing it to pass through the hands either of Northern merchants or Northern soldiers; and will rather renounce the cultivation of cotton for that of food while the war lasts, than make the cotton trade an instrument for their own subjection. On this point their determination is clear and decided; and those who imagine that the Federal success in the Sea Islands will be the means of bringing a thousand, or even a hundred bales of Sea Island, or any other cotton to Europe, will not be much older before they are wiser in this respect, if not in others.

The Federal Government may have had a third and still greater object, not yet openly promulgated, in carrying the war into the "Africa" of the Sea Islands. The district, of which Beaufort is the capital, contains a population of six thousand whites and thirty-two thousand negroes. One half, or one third of the whites are serving at a distance in the ranks of the Confederate army, and it seems like putting a torch to a powder magazine to send a Federal army to such a place. The Federals are not yet abolitionists, but the negroes may believe they are, and if the belief is propagated among them, eight or ten thousand able-bodied men, in the prime of youth and manhood, may take it into their heads to be "chattels" no longer, and make a stampede into the Federal camp, to fight as men for the restoration of the Union. Could it be supposed that the Government of Mr. Lincoln had finally decided on fighting the battle of the Union, on behalf and by the aid of the negro race, the lodgement effected at Beaufort might prove to be of infinitely greater importance than anything that has yet occurred in the history of this deplorable war. But nothing seems to indicate that Northern opinion has yet taken so momentous a turn, or that the avowal of such a determination would not immediately produce a revolution in the North, of which the consequences might be fatal to the existence of the Washington Government itself, and the first step towards a new secession. There is something so fearful in the idea of proclaiming immediate freedom to many millions of ignorant and debased human beings, who have never known what freedom is, that even professional philanthropists shrink aghast from the responsibility

of preaching such a crusade, and trust that time, the redresser of all wrongs, will ultimately make an end of slavery, without compelling the existing generation to be the executioners of its decree.

Taken all in all we look upon the success of the Federal armada as an incident highly favourable to the ultimate pacification of North and South. War is only waged among rational beings for the sake of the peace that must eventually grow out of it; and any circumstance that places the belligerents upon a greater equality, and that soothes the ruffled pride of a haughty and powerful people, may be used with great effect, at the proper moment, to bring about a compromise. To a compromise things must ultimately come. It was only the unreasoning pride and passion of the combatants that prevented a compromise before blood was shed; and that prevents it now. The day, we think, is not far distant when the good offices of some of the great powers of Europe may be offered and accepted by both parties, to end a strife that ought never to have arisen, and to restore peace, if not amity, to two noble nations, who have room enough in the New World to govern themselves in their own fashion, without entrenching upon the rights or wounding the susceptibilities of each other.

#### SAVING—CAPITAL—LABOUR.

THE conflict of feeling—for it is not an opposition of fact—between capital and labour is probably the deepest and the most hurtful of our age. It threatens more danger to society than any other cause, whether political or social. It is the fermenting poison which arrays master against workman, builder against mason; it creates and embitters strikes, and fills every trade with disturbance, hatred, and violence; it organizes unions, which seek to reduce every independent artisan into an ignominious bondage to a few selfish and unscrupulous demagogues; and rears up theories of socialism which avowedly aim at the revolution of social life, and alter every relation of labour which has been sanctioned by the use of ages. Every element of this painful struggle deserves the close attention of every friend of humanity. No other province of modern life calls so loudly for the diffusion of sound information and true science, for intellectual forces have large play here. Both sides proceed on theory, the working classes quite as much as the capitalists; both combat each other with doctrines; and as nowhere else does wrong opinion work so much harm, so also nowhere else may so large a benefit be reasonably hoped for from the spread of real enlightenment. The inherent difficulties of the subject have been aggravated and embittered by the importation into the question of elements which ought to be foreign to it. Capital and labour must combine before any profitable work can be accomplished, and some rivalry in the division is inevitable; but, after all, capital and labour are joint partners in the same firm, and not enemies on the same battle-field. This latter idea is the poison whose introduction we deplore, the pernicious and untrue doctrine which kindles ill-will and strife, and which, we grieve to add, has been thoughtlessly and mischievously countenanced by men of unquestionable character, and of real, but mistaken, benevolence. They have encouraged the false notion that capital is the natural enemy of labour, that in the competition for success capital not only clutches undue advantages, but is unjust and even persecuting in its treatment of the working man; that it not only strives to get too much, but tramples on the rights and bears away the just earnings of the poor. It is not to be doubted that the angry obstinacy with which the working classes cling to strikes derives immense support from the well-meaning but most unwise and ill-informed teaching of these philanthropists.

Yet the very men, whose language we allude to, are amongst the loudest in enforcing the duty and the dignity of saving. *Si sic omnia!*—if they were only as sensible and as wise everywhere else as they are here. Civilization—nay the existence of every man in this country, beyond the few savages who would otherwise be its only inhabitants—is due to saving. The self-denial which abstains from consuming everything as rapidly as it has the means, is first a necessity and then an ennobling virtue. If all the harvest were instantly used up—if nothing was saved for making clothes, supplying food, providing instruments of tillage and manufacture—how could civilized life be maintained for a single year? And, then, is not saving the only parent of material progress—the source to which man owes every form of the wealth of cultivated life—the instrument by which people advance in comfort, enjoyment, and well-being? And what does saving lay up but capital? The law which inseparably associates moral with physical good is pre-eminent in its action on saving. Nothing so thoroughly elevates the moral condition of a whole people as saving. It not only is the fruit and pledge of industry, but it exalts a man's self-respect—it implies that he feels life is worth the living, and still more worth the improving. The increase of the material welfare and civilization of a whole people is only the result of the aggregate self-denial of each individual man. And yet, knowing these facts—and knowing, too, that Providence has so constructed human nature, that the prosperity of each man is closely connected with the prosperity of the whole society—these prominent friends of the poor virtually represent that whilst it is virtuous and ennobling to save,

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the man who has saved has thereby at once become the foe and the oppressive rival of those who have yet to save. To save is right—to have saved is to have made oneself the enemy of the mass of one's fellow-countrymen. Is it possible that it should be so? Can it be that nature should have made so fatal a mistake as to have implanted so powerful an instinct in the human breast, and yet to have made obedience to it the necessary parent of the worst moral and social results? What is capital? Is it not an accumulation of savings devoted to the maintenance of labour in the production of fresh wealth? Capital without labour is simply annihilated; property separated from labour ceases to be capital; it passes into the category of useless things, however ornamental or however cherished; of pictures, statues, ancestral trees, autographs, of no more worth as wealth, till sold, than so many pebbles. To call a man a capitalist is to say that he is dependant on labour or productive industry, fully as much as the working man who enjoys the monopoly of the title of labourer. How can such a man have an interest directly hostile to labour? How can he hope to prosper himself, if labour languishes or decays? The supposition is absurd; the capitalist who wished ill to labourers would be simply a fool, and his own worst enemy. If, therefore, these friends of the working classes desire to improve their condition, and to protect them from those occasional acts of injustice which belong to every form of human life, they could not adopt a more false or a more ruinous principle, than the representation that capital is the natural enemy of labour. The capitalist and the workman may differ, and may do each other wrong, as the husband to the wife, the father to the son, or the friend to the friend; but would any man dream of providing a remedy by preaching that they are the necessary, the true foes, of each other? There are times, we doubt not, when the capitalist encroaches on the workman and deprives him of his legitimate share of the common gain; but there are times also, we are sure, when the workman in his turn presses on the capitalist, and exacts more than is his due. The school of which we speak are very fond of dilating on the rights of the workman; but they never speak of the rights of the capitalist. They bestow all the sympathy they possess on the labourer; they have none left for the employer. They regard with affection a man so long as he works with his hands, whether he saves or not; but as soon as he has saved, and works with his brain, their love for him is gone. He offends by having money, by employing labour, by becoming a payer of wages; his only chance of forgiveness is to turn gentleman, like these writers, and to disguise his employment of labour by only buying at the shops. To give wages is at once an unnatural, a hostile relation; his money no longer deserves consideration or protection. If trade falters, and buyers are scarce, the loss must be his alone; it is his duty to keep up equally full wages for the same number of workmen. He is not to ask why he should sacrifice all his property in supporting these labourers, in giving them always, as the phrase is, a full day's wages for a full day's work. Why he is more called on to do this than the buyers for whom he manufactures, than these benevolent gentlemen themselves; for is he not a holder of capital, and does not capital belong ultimately to the labourers? is it not responsible, to its own ruin, for their support?

These are strange doctrines; but they are promulgated by respectable men, under every form by which they can disguise their falsehood from themselves. The propagation of undigested opinion on such momentous subjects by men of high character is one of the most incendiary visitations with which society can be afflicted. Benevolence is no excuse for carelessness of thought and recklessness of publication in such matters; the harm done by well-meaning men is one of the greatest harms of human life; and the misfortune is, that the belief in his own good intentions has a most deadening effect on a man's conscience; he discharges himself thereby from the responsibility of careful investigation, and the feeling that if mischief ensues, it ought to be laid at his own door. These friends of the working classes ought to feel it to be their first duty to start from the truth, to begin with the principle which alone can produce lasting good in the relations between labour and its employers, namely, that capital and labour are natural and indispensable friends, that they are engaged in a common work, sharers of a common prosperity, and bound together in common fortunes. When this grand truth has penetrated thoroughly to the hearts and understandings of all the parties, a solid foundation will have been obtained for an equitable adjustment for the division of the profit of the common partnership.

#### THE CASE OF THE "NASHVILLE."

WE have dealt at length in another article with the case of the *Trent* and the *San Jacinto*. We have endeavoured to expound the law of nations as applicable to that transaction, and to deprecate any unreasonable irritation in this country at an inconvenience which legitimately flows from our position as neutrals. It is not improbable that when the news of the affair of the *Nashville* reaches New York, the exasperation which the success of the Southern cruiser will cause will be at least as great as the in-

telligence of the stoppage of the *Trent* caused, at the first moment, in this country. Neutrals have something to suffer from belligerent rights, and belligerents have something to concede to neutral obligations. We fear, however, that the people and the press of New York are not likely to imitate the good sense and moderation which have been generally exhibited here in the discussion of an affair at first sight of an highly offensive character.

We have no doubt that the "sensational press" of New York and the Republican platforms will resound with denunciations of Great Britain for harbouring the *Nashville* in its ports; and that with the same ignorance and folly which have led some English journals to characterize the acts of the *San Jacinto* as piratical, the American journalists and orators will apply the same term to the capture effected by the Southern cruiser. We have endeavoured at some length to set out the reasons which ought to soothe the English exasperation at the affair of the *Trent*. And as for the important end of the preservation of friendly relations between England and the Federal Government, it is equally desirable that the latter should be satisfied that it has no just grounds of complaint, we shall endeavour to point out the entire baselessness of the grounds on which it has been alleged that the English Government are bound to refuse a refuge to the *Nashville*.

As here in England it has been confidently alleged that the *Nashville* might be treated as a pirate in consequence of a defect in her commission, there is little doubt that this text will be largely insisted upon on the other side of the Atlantic. Now this point may be very shortly and summarily disposed of. We shall not stop to inquire whether the *Nashville* was or was not a public vessel of war, nor even whether she had a commission, either for the ship herself, or a personal commission for the captain. And for this simple reason. It is wholly immaterial whether she was a public or a private ship, and equally so whether she or her captain had or had not a commission. When belligerents are at war, any ship of one side, whether public or private, may make captures upon any ship on the other side, whether with or without a commission. It is a common error to suppose that a privateer without a letter of marque is liable to be treated as a pirate. That is not so. The only object and effect of a letter of marque is to give the privateer a title to the booty which he captures. But for that permission from his own sovereign everything which he takes is taken for his sovereign. But the want of a commission does not affect his character in his relations either to the opposite belligerent, or to neutrals. If there is any irregularity in his proceedings it is a thing of which his own sovereign, and his own sovereign alone, has a right to complain. The law on this point is just as clear and precise as that which we have quoted in the case of the *Trent*. We refer to the same authority.

Kent, Commentaries, Vol. 1, p. 95.

"The subject has been repeatedly discussed in the Supreme Court of the United States, and the doctrine of the law of nations is considered to be that private citizens cannot acquire a title to hostile property unless seized under a commission, but that they may still lawfully seize hostile property in their own defence. If they depredate upon the enemy without a commission, they act upon their peril, and are liable to be punished by their own sovereign, but the enemy are not warranted to consider them as criminals, and, as respects the enemy, they violate no rights by capture. Such hostilities without a commission are, however, contrary to usage, and exceedingly irregular and dangerous, and they would probably expose the party to the unchecked severity of the enemy; but they are not acts of piracy unless committed in times of peace. Vattel, indeed, says (B. 3, cap. 15, sec. 226) that private ships of war without a regular commission are not entitled to be treated like captures made in a formal war. The observation is rather loose, and the weight of authority undoubtedly is, that non-commissioned vessels of a belligerent nation may at all times capture hostile ships without being deemed by the law of nations pirates. They are lawful combatants; but they have no interest in the prizes they may take, and the property will remain subject to condemnation in favour of the Government of the capture as *droits of the Admiralty*."

And this doctrine is borne out to the full by a celebrated judgment in the Supreme Court of the United States.

*The Nereide*, 9 Cranch's Reports, p. 449.

"Nor is it true, as has been asserted in argument, that a non-commissioned armed ship has no right to capture an enemy's ship, except in her own defence. The act of capture without such pretext, so far from being piracy, would be strictly justifiable on the law of nations, however it might stand upon the municipal law of the capturing ship. Vattel has been quoted to the contrary, but on a careful examination it will be found that his text does not warrant the doctrine. If the subject capture without a commission he can acquire no property to himself in the prize, and if the act be contrary to the regulations of his own sovereign, he may be liable to municipal penalties for his conduct. But as to the enemy he violates no rights by the capture. Such, on an accurate consideration, will be found to be the doctrine of Puffendorf, and Grotius, and Bynkershoek, and they stand confirmed by a memorable decision of the Lords of Appeal in 1759."

This being so, it is plain that neither we as neutrals, nor, indeed, the Federal Government as belligerents, have anything to do with the authority which the Captain of the *Nashville* might or might not hold from his Government. If he captured his prize by lawful authority, he captured it for his own benefit; if he captured it without such authority, he captured it for his own Government. In neither case have we any concern with the question. All that we have to do is, by the exercise of an impartial vigilance, to prevent



either party from making use of our territory for the purpose of hostile preparations or attacks on the other belligerent. We might, if we pleased, absolutely exclude both parties from our ports, upon whatever pretext they came here; or we may, without so extreme a measure, limit the use which shall be made by both sides of the refuge we accord them, so long as we extend to either party the same measure. The Foreign Enlistment Act has defined the acts which are prohibited to be done within our territory, either by our own subjects or by those of other countries, in respect of equipping or furnishing armaments to be employed against other states. The following sections are applicable to any attempt which might be made to fit or improve the warlike fittings of vessels in our ports to be employed in hostilities against another state:—

"That if any person, within any part of the United Kingdom, or in any part of His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, shall, without the leave and licence of His Majesty for that purpose first had and obtained as aforesaid, equip, furnish, fit out, or arm, or attempt or endeavour to equip, furnish, fit out, or arm, or procure to be equipped, furnished, fitted out, or armed, or shall knowingly aid, assist, or be concerned, in the equipping, furnishing, fitting out, or arming of any ship or vessel, with intent or in order that such ship or vessel shall be employed in the service of any foreign prince, state, or potentate, or of any foreign colony, province, or part of any province, or people, or of any person or persons exercising, or assuming to exercise any power of government in or over any foreign state, colony, or province, or part of any province, or people, as a transport or storeship, or with intent to cruise or commit hostilities against any prince, state, or potentate, or against the subjects or citizens of any prince, state, or potentate, or against the persons exercising, or assuming to exercise, the powers of government, in any colony, province, or part of any province or country, or against the inhabitants of any foreign colony, province, or part of any province or country, with whom His Majesty shall not then be at war; or shall, within the United Kingdom, or any of His Majesty's dominions, or in any settlement, colony, territory, island, or place belonging or subject to His Majesty, issue or deliver any commission for any ship or vessel, to the intent that such ship or vessel shall be employed as aforesaid, every person so offending shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, upon conviction thereof, upon any information or indictment, be punished by fine or imprisonment, or either of them, at the discretion of the court in which such offender shall be convicted; and every ship or vessel, with the tackle, apparel, and furniture, together with all the materials, arms, ammunition, and stores, which may belong to, or be on board any such ship or vessel, shall be forfeited."

"That if any person in any part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or in any part of His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, without the leave and licence of His Majesty for that purpose, first had and obtained as aforesaid, shall, by adding to the number of the guns of such vessel, or by changing those on board for other guns, or by the addition of any equipment for war, increase or augment, or procure to be increased or augmented, or shall be knowingly concerned in increasing or augmenting the warlike force of any ship or vessel of war or cruiser, or other armed vessel which at the time of her arrival in any part of the United Kingdom, or any of His Majesty's dominions, was a ship of war, cruiser, or armed vessel in the service of any foreign prince, state, or potentate, or of any person or persons exercising, or assuming to exercise, any powers of government in or over any province, or part of any province, or people belonging to the subjects of any such prince, state, or potentate, or to the inhabitants of any colony, province, or part of any province, or country under the control of any person or persons so exercising, or assuming to exercise, the powers of Government, every such person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, upon being convicted thereof upon any information or indictment, be punished by fine and imprisonment, or either of them, at the discretion of the court before which such offender shall be convicted."

We are informed that our Government has given the Captain of the *Nashville* full notice that he is expected, in the refitting of his ship, to observe the terms of this enactment. And so long as the Government of this country observes with fidelity the obligations thus laid down, it will have done all which the Federal Government can reasonably require, and, in fact, all that our character of neutrality permits us to do. We trust, therefore, that the Northern States of America will have the good sense to see that the case of the *Nashville* affords them no possible ground of complaint, or even of dissatisfaction, against England. We have thought it worth while (even at the risk of appearing tedious), to endeavour to dispel some popular errors on these important questions. If the information we have endeavoured to supply tends in the slightest degree to remove a spirit of irritation so much to be deprecated between two great and friendly nations, then our object will have been amply served.

#### THE GREEK PROFESSORSHIP AT OXFORD.

OXFORD has been for some short period occupied with one of those singular half-theological contests in which some of her ruling powers delight from time to time to engage her, and she has at last terminated it in a manner calculated to give pain to her warmest friends,—indeed, to give them pain in exact proportion to the sincerity of their regard for her. That regard, apart from a certain instinct, and also from that feeling of affection with which all well-constituted minds look upon the place of their early education, as far, in fact, as it is founded on sober reason, rests upon her claim to be considered as one of the two great seminaries of learning and religion in the kingdom; and her position as such is naturally considered a pledge that she will approach the consideration of all grave questions in a spirit of moderation and equity; that (since even Oxford is not exempt from the fallibility attaching to all human institutions), should she at times come to a wrong decision, it will not be one

stamped with flagrant injustice, nor open to the imputation of aiming to effect by a sidewind what she fears to attempt openly; that if at times unwise, she shall at all events be always honest and straightforward. We lament to say that the last epithets cannot be applied to the proceedings in the case to which we have alluded. The facts are briefly these. The original endowments of the different Regius Professorships at the two Universities are miserably small. Some one or two of them have been augmented by the permanent addition of a canonry, or a living; but till very lately the stipend attached to each was the sum, ridiculous for modern times, of £40 a year.

Some of the recent regulations of the University Commissioners have enabled the Universities to augment those stipends to a reasonable amount; and the power so granted has been exerted liberally and judiciously in every case but one. That one has given rise to the contest which we have already mentioned. Mr. Jowett, of Balliol, has, for some years, been Regius Professor of Greek. His predecessor, though possessed of other preferment of great value, made the office a sinecure. He never, we believe, gave a single lecture during his entire tenure of the professorship. Mr. Jowett very properly thought this an example not to be imitated. From his first appointment he has given regular courses of gratuitous lectures. At first, from disuse, they were but scantily attended; but gradually, as it became known that the lecturer possessed very eminent powers of elucidating his author and instructing his audience, the attendance grew denser and denser, till at last they became the most popular lectures in the whole university; and competent judges have testified to the very great improvement in accurate scholarship which has taken place at Oxford since Mr. Jowett commenced his honourable, but ill-requited labours. Under these circumstances, it was of course proposed, by those who were conscious of the value of his services, that his stipend should be raised, as that of other Professors had been; but to this proposal an objection was raised. There was no question as to the greatness of his attainments as a Greek scholar, nor as to the value of his services as a Greek instructor; but, unluckily, he had been one of the contributors to the "Essays and Reviews;" and that pillar of unquestioned orthodoxy, Dr. Pusey, raised the war-cry, and pronounced that no one of unsound theological views could be entitled to the favour of the university. The question was brought this week to its final decision in the congregation. Dr. Stanley, himself one of the most eminent divines, as well as scholars, in the university, in an argumentative speech, brought forward the motion for an increase of the professor's salary, as an act, not of favour, but of justice. Many of the first men in the University, of unimpeachable orthodoxy, supported it, but on a division the motion was lost by 99 to 96; and Mr. Jowett is still to display his vast learning and exquisite skill in dealing with the most difficult questions of modern scholarship, to a roomful of admiring pupils, for something less than the wages which Dr. Pusey gives his butler.

Nor is orthodoxy promoted by such a proceeding. We have, in this journal, so fully exposed the disingenuous logic and the pernicious tendency of the volume to which Mr. Jowett has unhappily lent his aid, that we shall not be suspected of any leaning to the side of the doctrines inculcated in it. We desire to see it universally condemned. But as Englishmen we desire to see it condemned on its own merits, and in its own person. Mr. Jowett's essay may not be the most offensive in the volume, but we wholly repudiate the plea of limited liability set up by his friends, and those of one or two other contributors to the volume, and look upon him, as a contributor, to be justly chargeable as consenting to and sanctioning the worst infidelities of Mr. Powell or Mr. Williams. Still we would have him condemned as an Essayist and Reviewer, not as Greek Professor. We presume that a formal condemnation of the volume in question, on the ground of infidelity, would be a sufficient plea for removing from his office a Professor under such a stigma. Let such a condemnation be procured; and if the volume be as unsound as we believe that we ourselves have demonstrated it to be, it will not be impossible to procure such a condemnation. And then let such formal condemnation be alleged as the ground of the removal of the Professor from his office. But by the present proceeding, Oxford seems to shrink from the attempt to procure, or to be too impatient to wait for such a condemnation; and yet to be resolved, as boys at school would say, to spite the Professor for his own want of straightforwardness and decision. She makes no attempt to effect his removal by formal censure; but seeks to starve him out by retaining the stipend which it is disgraceful to her to give, rather than to him to receive. The majority evidently look with deep disapprobation on the volume of "Essays and Reviews;" but do they not perceive that by the course which they have taken they are furnishing its authors and defenders with a pretext for saying that those who thus disapprove are so little confident of the justice of their disapprobation, that they fear to bring it to the decisive test of a formal motion. It cannot be doubted that this is the impression produced on many minds by the course thus taken by the University at the suggestion of Dr. Pusey. And being so, it is as injurious to the cause of true religion as it is discreditable to all who have been concerned in it.



## A BOROUGH FOR SALE.

THE electors of Finsbury are in a sad quandary. They are waiting and willing to be wooed—nay, they are eager to receive the soft solicitations of any one willing to ally his fate with theirs—but no eligible suitor presents himself. The lady has not yet reached the state which places her out of the pale of competition, but her charms are no longer what they were; and, what is worse, her reputation is not quite so clean as it used to be. The lovers of her youth are dead, or have become tired of her caprices; and now, when she is left almost utterly bereft, when only Sir Morton Peto remains true to her, when even the great Cox refuses to quote history any more in her name, the damsel is naturally afraid of being prematurely shelved, and obliged to accept the attentions of any stray contemptible wooer. She has reason to be alarmed. She has been hanging very heavily on hand. People of renown are ashamed to have their name associated with her's. Only an Old Bailey barrister and a respectable Nobody condescended to propose for her, and the former has since repented of his rashness, and withdrawn. She is profuse in her declarations of purity, uprightness, and honour, but, *nomina honesta pretenduntur vitis*. Her professions are received, even by her ancient adorers, with the civil silence of incredulity, and her endeavours to pass herself off in good society only bring her to shame.

It seems a hard case. Here is a metropolitan borough for sale, and no one of any importance will step forward to make a bid for it. We hear the merits and cheapness of the lot proclaimed from the head-quarters of arch intriguers—the taverns of Islington—and still the dead walls exhibit only obscure names. Day after day passes, and, at the very best, what might have been a long and profitable contest is reduced to a short and sharp encounter. Printers, publicans, and almost every other class of tradesmen who do business in a “small way” in Finsbury are beginning to think that on this occasion they will have no opportunity of reaping the spoil which in their opinion may be lawfully secured by an election contest. They like to see half a dozen candidates in the field at the beginning of the struggle, and to winnow them out one by one until at last only the wealthiest of the number remain. That is the system to which they have been accustomed, and they can neither comprehend nor reconcile themselves to the change. They have even suffered the indignity of having their advances scornfully rejected. They selected a few men whom they knew had realized a competence in the exercise of their professions or trades; and the mouth-pieces of the borough, the tavern spouters and local busybodies, caused it to be known that they were willing these gentlemen should come in their midst and submit to be cross-examined, abused, baited with insolent and stupid questions, defamed, made a target for the jeers of the riff-raff who infest the pot-houses of the neighbourhood, and finally to be plundered in all directions by committee-men, canvassers, and the herd that batten on candidates at a metropolitan election. To the intense astonishment of the Islington tailors and soap-boilers who are oracular at the taverns, their invitations were flung back in their teeth. Mr. Charles Dickens, whose name they unwarrantably used, is careful of his reputation, and possesses self-respect; he therefore gives them plainly to understand that he is not at all the man for them. Mr. Lusk will have nothing to do with them. Mr. Milner Gibson scarcely deigns to notice their requisition. The borough is, in plain English, going begging. This is certainly not a plight in which one might expect to find a metropolitan constituency placed. It should be accounted a distinguished honour to serve so large a portion of the community, and to represent in Parliament a number of electors larger by far than all the inhabitants of certain English counties. The member for Finsbury should possess very considerable weight and influence in the House, as being the best man whom many thousands of intelligent electors could appoint, and as possessing their confidence and esteem. But is this the case? The metropolitan members, with one exception, hold no such position. We all recollect by what standard the late member for Finsbury was judged in the House and by the country—that portion of it which ever heard his name. Why is all this? How is it that the anomaly exists of immense constituencies represented by men whose opinions no one would ever dream of asking, who are without talent, without influence, without reputation, and, to speak no longer negatively, with money alone to back up their pretensions? Why should the metropolitan boroughs be mere places of refuge for people whom colliers would send back with disdain?

In the first place, it is becoming more and more the custom for the highest and best educated class in these constituencies to refrain from taking any part in election contests. This, in effect, transfers the sole privilege of choice to those who are the least capable of exercising it intelligently—to the mountebanks and brawlers who have seldom any other interest in view than a selfish interest. The mob carries the day; those who pay the heaviest share of the rates and taxes will not stoop to be concerned in any way with the ruffianism that surrounds the polling booths and crowds to hear the candidate declare his views. This abnegation of a political right is a serious evil to the country, for it helps to fill the House of Commons with egotistical talkers and men who are incapable of grasping any ideas of greater importance than those which are involved in parish affairs. They are narrow minded, for they are full of local prejudices, and they readily become the fit exponents of pitiful desires and wild opinions. It is notorious that in the last contest for Marylebone “the squares” were absolutely inactive. A candidate of distinguished abilities as a journalist, and of high character and reputation, misled by his faith in the good sense and impartiality of the great mass of voters, offered to represent them in Parliament. He was rejected for a man of whom no one

ever heard before, and who has since fallen back into his original obscurity. It was not intellect; it was not reputation, it was not character that those who recorded their votes looked for—a vermin destroyer and manufacturer of soap-powder would have suited them as well as Mr. Gladstone or Lord Palmerston. Mr. Layard was elected for Southwark, simply, as he is well aware, because an influential local clique—which always undertakes the duty of deciding who shall represent the borough for those who will not think for themselves—had quarrelled with the chief opposition candidate. The affair was virtually settled in public-houses before Mr. Layard had said a word to the electors; and had the same clique of woolstaplers, auctioneers, and petty tradesmen chosen to put up a quack doctor or a salesman out of the Borough Market, they would have brought him in. The very same borough twice returned Sir Charles Napier; but it was owing to the old sailor having taken the precaution to visit every public-house in Bermondsey, and drink his “grog” familiarly with the savoury tanners of the locality. Having adopted this expedient with equal success in other parts of the borough, his return was certain—the electors would have returned the cocked-hat with which they presented him had he bidden them. Every one who has witnessed the influences at work in these metropolitan elections, is well aware that the contest is rarely decided by a fair polling of the constituency, but by the meddlers who have for years undertaken the “management” of the canvass, and who usually contrive to make their work lucrative as well as entertaining. Such are the persons whose blatant ignorance is nightly enlivening the Islington tap-rooms. These are the men who return what candidate they think proper, simply because sensible people will not walk in the path which they have rendered foul. No wonder that the lion of a concert-hall offers himself as a candidate, and that his offer is taken in earnest by some of the bemused and muddled politicians who stagger from “the Needle and Last,” under a pressure of ideas, at three in the morning.

Another and a very obvious cause of the declining political importance of the metropolitan constituencies is the enormous expense which a candidate, successful or unsuccessful, must undergo. It is believed that Mr. Locke paid £6,000 for Southwark, that about the same sum is required for Marylebone, and that Finsbury cannot be bought under £5,000, at the very lowest estimate. The losing man would be called upon to pay about £3,000. Now, is it reasonable to suppose that the foremost men of the day will pay such a sum for the privilege of devoting time, intellect, and trouble to the service of the constituency? A fool or a very vain man may be willing to make the sacrifice, or a man who expected to get his money returned eventually by bullying or worming himself into office; but the conscientious and able politician would consider, and rightly, that in placing himself at the command of the electors he was making a sufficiently great sacrifice. He would decline to be fleeced and victimised by all the needy offscourings of a populous borough. If Finsbury is really anxious to have the honour of being represented by a man who would be listened to with respect in the House of Commons, she must not expect him to provide her pauper shopkeepers with six months' food and raiment. She must warn off her unprincipled demagogues. There is, indeed, a rumour that a respectable section of the electors desire to invite a candidate of reputation, and to return him at their own expense. If any plan of this sort be carried out, Finsbury will have done much to wipe off the obloquy at present attaching to her name. But we doubt the report. The tavernmongers cannot afford to lose their prey like this, and when they have found out which of the candidates at present before them has the most money, they will instantly take him under their protection and place him ignobly at the head of the poll.

## MILITARY MURDERS.

MILITARY murders succeed one another fast as the heirs of Banquo before the vision of Macbeth. Whether from the force of example, or some defect in the treatment of the army, assassination is rapidly becoming the soldier's recognized mode of redressing his injuries, real or imaginary. His appeal is at once to his rifle; and it is made with a publicity which shows that the issue of life for life has been duly weighed, and that the murderer is prepared to pay the full price of his revenge. The last Aldershot tragedy is strikingly characterized by this ostentatious avoidance of secrecy. On several occasions Jackson had been heard to say, with reference to Sergeant Dixon, that “he would be hanged for that man yet;” and on the evening of the murder, and shortly before its perpetration, he repeated his threat in the canteen. The menace publicly made was as publicly fulfilled. On Saturday evening, as Dixon and Corporal Campbell were calling over the roll, Jackson, in the presence of several witnesses, took a rifle from the rack at the head of his cot, put it up to his side, moved it backward and forward once or twice to the attitude of “ready,” and, having fired it, coolly replaced it in the rack. The shot passed through Dixon and struck Campbell in the right shoulder. Jackson made no attempt to fly. When Dixon cried out, “Who did that?” he answered calmly, and in a tone of brutal satire, “It was me, old boy.” To those who arrested him he said, “I will go quietly to the guard-room.” Again, to the Superintendent of Police he said, “I know my destiny; I know what I've got to suffer; he gave me six months' hard labour once, and now I've given him twelve months.” Of remorse, or sign of it, he showed not a trace. His only regret when arrested was, that he had been a fool “not to kill more of them.” He even said to one of his captors, that it had been his intention to take ten rounds of ammunition, load all the rifles



he could get, and discharge them at the regiment on parade. But what follows is more singular still, as indicating the extent to which this appeal to the rifle is being adopted in our army. "It will be your turn next," said Jackson to Sergeant Proffit, "and it will be done by the 15th of December, or before Christmas, as I have left some one to do it." It is a remarkable confirmation of this warning, that there is at present a soldier in confinement whose term of durance will expire on the 15th of next month, and whose offence consists in having threatened the life of this very sergeant.

How are we to deal with a crime which is daily becoming of more frequent recurrence? In little more than a year we have seen it repeated at Aldershot, Preston, Plymouth, Colchester, Corfu, and now at Aldershot again. When a corporal and sergeant were shot at this camp some twelve months ago, the coroner's jury recommended the removal of the means of murder, and the prompt execution of offenders by way of inspiring a deterring terror into the breasts of their comrades. This recommendation the jury which sat at Aldershot on Monday has repeated. We cannot question its wisdom. The open daring of these crimes renders frivolous the ordinary safeguards with which the humanity of our laws protects the life and liberty of the subject. Humanity in this case takes her stand upon the opposite side, and demands prompt and terrible retribution. It is a mockery of justice to observe the formalities which guarantee to an accused the benefit of any doubt that may be raised in his behalf, where no doubt can possibly exist. We see it daily becoming a code of honour in the ranks of the army to shoot any one who gives a soldier offence; and, as new evils must be met with new remedies, we are bound to make our remedy in this case as prompt and stern as the evil it has to cope with. When it was proposed some time ago to deprive soldiers of their ammunition, a lieutenant-colonel is reported to have said, that, if such a measure were resolved upon, he would hang up a bag of ammunition in his barrack-room. This is mistaken courage; no man has a right to be reckless of his life, or of the lives of those under him. If sullen and revengeful men abuse their privileges, they must be taken from them. There is even a species of cowardice in refusing the aid of precaution where danger is probable. It is rather bravado than bravery. But, above all, if we are to put down these cold-blooded murders, we must make signal examples of those who commit them. Soldiers will not be so ready to use their rifles when they are warned by example that before the body of their victim is cold they may have to expiate their offence upon the nearest tree.

But while we say this, there is much to be said on the other side of the question. Tyrannical officers make brutal soldiers; and it is unfortunately true that the command of regiments is often intrusted to men either incompetent to use their power wisely, or whose natural disposition prompts them to tyranny. From their injustice the soldier has no appeal. He may, indeed, as a correspondent of the *Times* ironically observes, avail himself of a general inspection to obtain redress. To do this, "he must at the proper moment step forward and lay his supposed wrongs clearly, calmly, and briefly before the inspecting General, whose duty it is to take cognizance of the man's complaints." But "supposing that the complainant, an uneducated and inexperienced young peasant or artisan, has sufficient self-control, intelligence, and command of language to do all this,"—what follows? Why, the inspecting General refers the complaint to the very commanding officer who is accused, and the commanding officer sends for the punishment records of the regiment, by which he shows his superior that the complainant has been punished frequently and severely, and is, in fact, a very bad and troublesome character. The soldier is thus silenced by the record of the very ill-treatment of which he complains. We are not surprised to hear that redress has never been obtained by this singular mode of appeal. But sometimes the punishment to which a soldier may be subjected by the *sic jubeo* of his commanding officer, though apparently slight, is intrinsically most severe. Let us suppose that he is sentenced to a fortnight's confinement within the barrack boundaries. At first sight this is a mild punishment; but see what it involves. The man's furlough for one year is stopped; his leave for three months disallowed; his good conduct badge, if he has one, taken from him for a year. In addition to his usual duties, he has to undergo drill, in full marching order, for a certain number of hours every day, disgraced and humiliated in the eyes of his comrades; while his offence is written down in the records of the regiment, a standing memorial against him. Yet this was the punishment inflicted on McCaffery for the trifling offence of neglecting to obtain the names of some children who had gained access to the barrack-yard at Preston and occasioned some annoyance there. No doubt discipline must be maintained; but a reckless exercise of irresponsible power is much more likely to defeat it. Slaves or rebels are the legitimate progeny of tyrants. If we would preserve our army from either, we can conceive no better plan than that suggested by the writer above alluded to, and which we give in his own words: "It is simply to select with care the most competent men the army contains, and to entrust to them alone the command of regiments, instead of giving, as we now do, those commands to the first man who happens to have plenty of money."

But we cannot leave this subject without expressing the regret with which we have perused in the pages of one of our monthly magazines, a most ill-timed attempt to put a case in which the murder of an officer by a soldier under his command is represented as almost pardonable. Even the injuries which are there depicted as justifying an act of savage retribution, are avenged in a manner detestable as much for its cowardice as its crime. But the principle is utterly false; and, when advocated though only by

inference, is calculated to swell the vast amount of immorality inculcated by the morbid literature of the cheap press. Writers of fiction in search of "effect" do not weigh, and perhaps do not care, how much evil they may cause by painting assassination under mitigating circumstances, and making a hero of the scoundrel who lies in wait for months for an opportunity of murdering his officer. But their effusions are not without "effect" on the actions of real life; and no small portion of the crimes which disgrace our age may be traced to the wide dissemination amongst the lower classes of feverish tales and sketches in which vice is represented, not as the foil of virtue, but as the justification of revenge.

#### THE REICHSRATH AND M. DE WESER.

ENGLISHMEN are proud of their political institutions. They think them, and with good reason, to be the best that the world has yet seen; they have enjoyed liberty and national strength under their protection, and by their help have reared up an empire, which, for extent, grandeur, happiness, and promise of duration is fairly unrivalled in the annals of mankind. As is natural, Englishmen are also desirous of sharing this blessing with foreign countries; they wish other nations to adopt, with the necessary modifications, a similar form of Government; they think of their own experience, and they believe that the same carefully-balanced system of rule would rescue many continental States from evils which are undeniable, and would procure for them greater freedom and security in the future. England, too, would greatly gain from such a transformation of continental Governments; identity of institutions would quickly generate identity of interests and desires; for a free people everywhere has always the same general instincts, and the prosperous progress of industry and unaggressive self development would place the peace of the world on the most solid foundation.

But, unfortunately, we Englishmen too often forget that it is not enough by a stroke, as it were, of a wizard to fling away an old method of government, and to put in its place a spick and span new one of the genuine English type. The glorious old formula of Queen, Lords, and Commons suits us perfectly; we have learnt through long ages how to use it, we know exactly where to place our hands in working it, the precise amount of strength to exert at each place, how to make the several parts of the complicated machine fit together, and, when its movement is embarrassed, where to look for the hitch, and how to remedy it. No one expects a man to be able to handle a carpenter's or blacksmith's tools without having acquired by long practice the skill to use them; but most Englishmen, without reflection, imagine that after talking with a few Englishmen, or reading a few English papers, any foreign people ought to be ready to step at once into the full and successful working of the constitutional machine. We laugh at the untrained foreigner who would attempt to vie with the first flight in a brilliant run in the Pytchley country; but we do not laugh at our absurd impatience in demanding at a year's notice a working Parliament of a nation which for centuries may never have made a speech on political matters. A speech seems to us so easy and so natural; we do not think of the countless qualities, the unerring tact, what to say, and what not to say, which makes a speech successful amongst men who have made speeches for generations.

In truth, a good tool is important, but a good workman is much more important yet. The man is higher and more necessary than the instrument. A skilful workman may produce very fair work with a bad tool; the best of instruments yield nothing in the hands of a man who does not know how to apply them. This truth is universal in the arts, but it is as great and as dominant in statesmanship also. Innumerable failures abroad ought to have taught us that in the difficult arts of government and civil liberty, the man must precede the institution; that the institution is a lifeless machine, and can in every case be nothing else than what the men who work it make it to be. Spain again and again tried the English method, and the break-down as often followed: an institution adapted to a combination of mixed forces could not possibly be worked by men whose minds were exclusively filled with the ideas of pure democracy. The Spaniard, however, has now learnt something of constitutional lessons, and the Cortes are taking root, and in time we cheerfully believe will build up freedom for Spain. Prussia has enacted the triple formula; a reactionary clique in the House of Peers, for it is not a real aristocracy, stops progress, and the stereotyped spirit of a bureaucratic House of Commons has not life enough in itself, nor enough among the people to clear away the obstacle, and to assert itself as a living body. France has repeated many times over the experiment of constitutional government, and always without success. The Chambers never were organically connected with corresponding vital forces in the country; they were never strong in themselves, because their members did not meet as the representatives of real and powerful interests in the nation. Here, too, Frenchmen seem to be incapacitated by their mental formation for constitutional government. No Frenchman has any sense of the rights of a minority, or indeed of a majority. The very homogeneity of character which renders Frenchmen so formidable as soldiers makes them infants in constitutional politics. They cannot endure to be divided; a minority is resented and crushed as an offence to the nation; the vote of a majority is repudiated by a dissentient minority, which appeals to the streets and to barricades to sweep away a tyranny built on a local superiority of numbers. The Chambers thus dragged on a dependent and precarious existence, and whenever they perished left few regrets behind them.



In all these cases the cause of failure is the same: the incompetency of the men themselves to work Constitutional Government. The previous training has always been absent; the indispensable skill and knowledge of the specific occupation have never been acquired. They confirm the lesson taught by the history of the English Constitution, that it is a natural growth, the necessary expression of a certain state of mind in the people, an aggregate of safeguards and securities acquired one by one, as the necessity for each made itself apparent; the embodiment in institutions of the feelings and desires of men who made them, and did not receive them from more enlightened donors. It is this invaluable peculiarity which has made that Constitution so strong, which has enabled it to triumph over every storm that assailed it, whether from king or populace; and which of all others is its surest guarantee for vitality and unimpaired permanence.

It is, therefore, with no small feelings of sympathy and generous hope that we have observed the same feature revealing itself in the Austrian people—the same aptitude for self-government—the same naturally and deeply-seated sense of what is essential for freedom and political greatness. A discussion has lately occurred in the Lower House of the Reichsrath, which—most wonderfully for a continental state—discloses some of those political facilities which hitherto have formed the most peculiar characteristics of Englishmen.

A bill has been laid before the House which virtually enacts a Habeas Corpus Act for Austria, and it has been debated in a spirit and with a knowledge of the supreme importance of the question at issue, which would have done honour to the House of Commons itself. Let a man cast his eyes over the whole world and gather up every trace he can find of the provisions of the Habeas Corpus Act, and he will then judge of the immense progress which Austria has made in the path of freedom—the vast basis for confident hope for the future, the true baptism into constitutional liberty, the brotherhood with England, as congenial and verisimilar states, which a proposal of Habeas Corpus from the Government, discussed with such a feeling by a House of Commons, has obtained for Austria. Our Transatlantic sons carried away with them this grand inheritance from the parent country,—in the first real storm which it has had to encounter, the first trial against the passionate anger of a despotic people, this best of safeguards has perished; the protection for individual feebleness has disappeared, and no shelter now intervenes between the will and vehemence of a sovereign people and the weakness of a private and unpopular citizen. The mob shows the same passions as the autocrat; it will not respect the man that thwarts it, any more than a Czar Nicholas hesitated to relegate to Siberia any subject who dared to think otherwise than he had decreed.

Equally so is it in Prussia. The police and the will of the authorities are still there supreme. The arrest of any man at the pleasure of the bureaucracy, is regarded as his personal affair, and as little concerning the public.

In France personal liberty is almost as precarious as in Russia. Frenchmen have always been indifferent to the liberty of the subject; they have ever sacrificed it, without a feeling of regret, to glory, or equality, or any idea of the moment. That a man's house is his castle, and that the Emperor dares not, and shall not enter, are words absolutely without meaning for a Frenchman. During the minority of Louis XIV., in the days of the Fronde, one heroic attempt was made by the Parliament of Paris to wrest an Habeas Corpus Act from the Crown, but the attempt failed, and has never since been repeated. Not even in the fierce outburst of democratic violence at the revolution was the slightest effort made to protect the weakness of the private man against the assaults of power. The propagandists of *égalité et fraternité* had no notion that a single person in the country should resist the action of such glorious ideas. That the man who advocated distinction of ranks should be arrested and kept in prison, seemed as natural to these regenerators of mankind as that a burglar should be sent to gaol seems natural to us. It is so to this very hour. The French Government, or any of its countless officers, may arrest any person without warrant, and search his house, and read his letters, at their pleasure. We know, as a matter of fact, that quite recently a member of the Administration was summoned before a tribunal because a perfectly harmless letter, addressed to him by a foreign statesman, was opened at the Post-office; and the whole of his papers were liable to the examination of the police. It is difficult for Englishmen to conceive the deep sense of insecurity, the feeling of bondage and fear, which such a power as this brings home hourly to the mind of every man that dwells in France.

And now let us turn our eyes to Vienna. On the 28th a Select Committee delivered its report on the bill for securing the liberty of the subject. It is criticized by M. de Weser as inadequate; as being merely a modification of the law for criminal proceedings in the Courts, and as insufficient for remedying the evils connected with them. "Instead of organising a system of commitments by means of magistrates, the police and the government are authorized to make arrests; and the judges are thus involved in the dilemma of refusing to accept the arrest as valid, or, if they accept it, of making themselves responsible for it." M. de Weser then concludes his speech in these terms:—

"I think, then, that this bill fails to remove the dangers which threaten the liberty of the subject; but I am far from laying the blame on the bill itself. The fault lies with our penal code, and the thing most urgently needed is a revision of our penal code, and of our method of criminal proceedings. Criminal process is full of meaning; it is the mirror in which the civilization, the political condition, and the political liberty of a people are reflected. The history of criminal pro-

ceedings in England may be said to be the history of the conquest of freedom. So long as we conduct our trials by laws which are in contradiction to the principles of the present Government, of the Parliament, and of the country, by laws which allow the indefinite detention and examination of a man that is under accusation, so long will laws like those now proposed to us be a proof of good intentions, but they will possess only a subordinate value in respect of our political institutions."

Most memorable words; what Englishman would not have been proud to have uttered them? No other man but an Anglo-Saxon or an Austrian, we resolutely affirm, could have spoken them. How this proves these Austrian members to be bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh! What a notion they give of the Austrian House of Commons; the quality of the men that compose it; the political impress they possess; their fitness to win and retain liberty; and the spirit of the Austrian Government and the Austrian people. If England is not to sympathize with such men, as embarked in the same cause, as defending the same principles, as like-minded in spirit and aspirations, what other men in the whole world can be found on whom our best feelings and good wishes can be more legitimately and safely bestowed? These men have the hearts of freemen; their ability that brief quotation amply attests. What does England want more to cheer them with friendly words, and to bid them God-speed?

#### TRADE UNION THUGS.

IN the recess speeches of this autumn we have not seen so much adulation of "the intelligent working man" as it was the fashion to pay him not long ago. How is this? Is the idol in a paper cap dethroned, or are his worshippers fickle and ready to fling him down, as Italian sailors are said to depose the images of their saint when he does not effect a change of wind? Or has anything happened that rather rudely destroys the ideal of an imaginary unit, who, combining in himself all the social and political virtues, was, collectively, the only source of wealth, and the foundation of England's greatness? Whatever may be the cause, we are glad to remark that public men, or men trying to rise into publicity, can now contrive to address their fellow citizens, without so much of the insincere flattery they once thought it a necessity to pour upon the "working classes." That a little independence of thought and honesty of speech are returning to our politicians is one of the good results of the final submersion of Parliamentary reform as an annual question. It has sunk like lead in the mighty waters of national indifference; the two great parties of the country—to the disgrace of the chiefs of both it will be recorded—tried to float and buoy it up, and make it their tug-boat into the haven of office; they kept it tumbling and rolling in the tide-way of affairs, obstructing the current for several sessions without advancing itself.

In the mean time, happily, one or two other craft, of much the same build, had been launched elsewhere, with full play for the stupidity and greed of the bulk of the crew; as they immediately flung overboard the more honest and intelligent minority, and took to piratical courses; but the lazy tolerance shown to those who contemplated building on similar lines here was turned into strong aversion; both the Whig and Conservative hulks were scuttled, and no fresh experiments will be countenanced.

With reform, which everybody secretly feared, has gone down that imaginary creation, the "intelligent working man," whom it was everybody's cue to praise. It is a good riddance, as the destruction of a falsehood and imposture always must be. Public speakers have, so far, "cleared their minds of cant"—and a very disgusting cant too. It had not even the merit of novelty. Next to the imaginary savage whom the philosophers of the last century invested with impossible virtues, and held up as a model, came an equally imaginary "people," and an equally false fashion of literary and rhetorical worship of it, even more inexcusable than the elevation of the "noble savage;" of him and his real qualities the eighteenth century knew little, and talked and wrote nonsense ignorantly.

But the "people"—the *peuple vertueux*—for it was principally a French form of worship—they had before their eyes. When this fashionable embodiment of all the virtues began to burn the houses and cut off the heads of their philosophical adorers, those eyes became considerably opened. The virtuous people dropped out of speeches and pamphlets, became the "enemies of civilization," and a Napoleon appeared as the "saviour of society,"—a part which the nephew of the uncle, by the influence of the same dread of the peculiar political aptitudes of the mass of his countrymen, has been called on to repeat. French adulation is now all imperial. The English variety of the hypocritical vice has, till lately, been paid to "the intelligent working man." Of the two kinds of flattery, it is difficult to decide which is the most false, fulsome, and degrading.

It is therefore gratifying to observe that even candidates for a popular borough can throw off this cant about the "working classes"—a term by implication branding all others as idlers—that the nomination speeches this week at Carlisle actually contain no allusion to them, except as included in the general body of the community. The prostration to the paper cap, that was becoming as despotic a symbol as the mythic hat of Gesler, was omitted—not perhaps so much from the spirit of a Tell having entered the bosoms of our politicians, as from the fact that they have begun to discover it is neither a cap of liberty, nor a cap of wisdom, nor anything, indeed, but the sign of a political delusion that is passing away. It was not worth the homage of a single paragraph of hustings oratory. A year ago we should have had the inevitable working man brought out, virtues and all, in well-



turned sentences, very neat, exceedingly inappropriate, and thoroughly insincere. The real workers of the land will most approve the omission of what had become a stupid compliance with a form.

But what has enabled candidates to refuse to pronounce the canvassing Shibboleth? The convulsions and sufferings of nations that, having elevated arithmetic into a principle of government, and rejected intelligence for numbers, find force and passion doing what it is their nature to do; while the experience of others has shown us the depth of the gulf, to the brink of which we were tending, and the hopelessness of extrication to those who have fallen into it. That is the common-sense deduction from what is happening abroad. Much that is passing at home is not less suggestive.

The "intelligence" that the current phraseology of trading politicians attributed to the "working class"—we are obliged to use a definition which we protest against—may fairly be tested by their own course of action as a class. Tried by that test, what is its amount, and in what does it consist? There is a great confusion of ideas on the subject. Nothing is more common than to hear the greatness of the result of labour accepted as a proof of the intelligence that produced it. Look, it is said, at the ware-rooms of Birmingham and Sheffield, what triumphs of beauty and ingenuity are heaped up in them! What intelligence they denote! Cannot such a class be safely intrusted with political power? That is the received formula; but it confounds mechanical skill with the higher intelligence that is moral. The kind of intelligence required for the exercise of any power over others must not be assumed for the workman from the evidence of his fire-grates and jewellery,—how is his intelligence displayed in his household life? In what position does it generally tend to keep his class? How does he exhibit it for himself and those around him?

Ask any employer of skilled labour whether the greatest mechanical dexterity does not often exist in men whose moral intelligence is of the very lowest order? With the power of rising to prosperity, they make wrecks of their homes and themselves; thus showing the most fatal "unfitness for politics" we can conceive, his own life being the result of the "politics" of the individual. Another test of the intelligence of a class is the class legislation it enacts or submits to. The whole spirit of the self-imposed laws of the "trades" is despotic, and intended to keep the energetic down to the dead level of the mass. A class that subjects itself to a worse than Venetian tyranny, that renews the calculating assassinations of the Council of Ten, keeps up the espionage of the Inquisition, and can put any town under an interdict more effectively than the Papacy in its most evil days, is an anomaly in modern civilization. What is the political intelligence that the law of the land cannot restrain from a tendency to return to barbarism? If it frames such a brutal code for itself, what would it do with the political power that would enable it to make laws for all other classes besides? The nation would be justified in resisting such legislation, as it resisted the Stuarts, and the Star Chamber, and penal torture, or any other of the tyrannical miseries of the past. Government is the function of man's reason, not his brute instincts and more than brutish passions.

Let the better spirits of the working class look to it, or they will sink into the mere serfs and helots of their Trades Union lords. Do they accept, as a class, the motives of that last cowardly murder at Sheffield, perpetrated by the Thugs of a local committee? Sheffield is the very centre of mechanical skill in its highest forms; at what point stands its moral intelligence? Lower than that of the most degraded Hindoo-caste. The Sheffield "fender grinders" give their wares the brightest polish possible; but society must crush out the sort of "political intelligence" that visits independent industry with systematic murder. The frequency of the crime is a disgrace to the country—a greater disgrace to the class. And the fact that it is possible for it to occur—that the class does not disown it—that it is ordered and committed as part of the machinery of trade government—that violence is always impending, where not actually inflicted; all this, and the low morale it indicates in those who rule secretly, as well as in those who publicly and shamefully submit, accounts for the disappearance of the Reform Bills from the House of Commons, and the "intelligent working man" from the hustings. He cannot appear there as a model till he ceases to be the bully of industry in London, and washes Sheffield blood from his hands.

#### PUNCH IN TUSCANY.

"Let me make the songs of the people; and those may make their laws who will!" cried one, who knew something of national pulse-feeling. In a similar spirit it may be said, "Let me know the tone and scope of the jest and satire that tickle the popular mind, and I can dispense with dissertations on the more serious manifestations of its tendencies." Now the laughing philosophers of the public press in Tuscany have of late been exercising the privilege of the cap and bells, with so very marked an intention. There has been so bitterly caustic a ring in their laugh, and the public feeling has responded with such hearty approbation to the mordacity of their satire, that it will be well worth our while to bestow a little attention on this manifestation of the direction in which opinion is moving in Italy.

Florence, it may be remarked, should be, by all right, of all the cities in Europe the very home and favorite *habitat* of the political caricature. Tuscany has always been noted throughout the peninsula for the shrewd and caustic humour of its inhabitants, their appreciation of satire, and ever ready comprehension of it, under its most delicate disguisements and wrappings. The

allusions and word-stabs too, which would elsewhere be intended for certain classes only of the population, are there addressed with effect to all. The artizan chuckles over the same page "which sharpens the nose" of the patrician. And be the innuendo as subtle, or the point as delicate as it may, no jot of the significance or of the zest is lost upon either.

Of course the open and regular publication of political or social satire or caricature is a new thing in Italy. Paternal Governments do not like to be laughed at, and have, indeed, so rooted an aversion to satire of any kind, that they will not permit their people even to laugh at one another, for fear of the possible consequences of so dangerous a habit. But since regenerated Italy has acquired, among the other rights and franchises appertaining to free citizens, that of free laughter, she has shown herself well disposed to avail herself abundantly of the privilege. Several journals of the class of which we are speaking, all of them more or less exclusively political in their scope, and almost all of them "illustrated," appear in Florence alone. But the "facile princeps" among them, and perhaps among all those of the entire peninsula, the true Italian *Punch*, is the *Lampione*. It is a single quarto sheet, of which the two inside pages, or half the entire space, is occupied by, generally, one large political caricature. It appears twice a week, and costs a fraction less than ten shillings a year. The execution of the prints in lithograph is, as may be supposed, coarse; but the faces are almost invariably very good, and full of meaning, and the drawing fairly correct. Gradually the satire of the *Lampione* has acquired a larger and more serious scope; and increased popularity has very unmistakably accompanied its increased boldness, and its pretension to fly at higher game. Once already it has had the honour of sustaining a Government prosecution, and coming off victorious and with flying colours from its encounter with Mr. Attorney-General. A representation of the Pope had been given, in which the tiara on the Pontiff's head was figured under the likeness of an earthenware pot or pipkin, in no respect adapted to supply its place. In fact, the portrait of Pio Nono, thus accoutred, could not be said to be a reverent, decorous, or seemly presentation to the faithful of the august head of their Church.

The wicked *Lampione*, accordingly, was accused of bringing contempt upon the national religion.

The counsel for the defence was the well-known advocate, Gennavelli, a member of the Roman "Rota"—himself the author and editor of many books certainly, if more decorous, not less offensive, than the irreverent lithograph in the *Lampione*. As may be easily imagined, the advocate revelled in the task assigned to him—did it *con amore*—and proportionably well. The line of defence was yet more galling to the scarlet lady than the original offence. The satirist had no intention whatever of attacking, or even alluding to the Head of the Church. He was only ridiculing the King of Rome. The unseemly article in the print was not intended to replace the mitre—only the crown! If the Roman Pontiff would unite two characters, he must take the consequences. The immunities fairly claimed for the one character could not be expected to cover the other. However much reverence for the national religion may require us to respect the Universal Bishop of souls, we nevertheless claim the right of respecting the infamously bad temporal ruler of Rome just as little as we please.

The jury concurred in this view of the matter, and by their verdict handed over the temporal Pope, tiara and all, to any amount of ridicule it might please Italian pens and pencils to visit him withal. They speedily availed themselves of the legal sanction thus given to them.

While Italy was in the first paroxysm of indignation at the news of the execution of Locatelli by mistake, the *Lampione* came out with a plate entitled "The new Herodias." The Pope is seated in a chair of state, on the back of which is embroidered a skull and cross-bones, surmounted by the Papal tiara. On the steps of the throne is a friar presenting to the Pontiff the head of Locatelli, on a Papal tiara used dish-wise. In the background is the Emperor Napoleon, scared at the headless phantom of the murdered man, which is flitting past him, while a voice is heard crying "Viva l'Italia!"—the last words which Locatelli uttered. Underneath is written (Pope loquitur), "Knowing that thou hast died innocent, I give thee a far longer life than that I have taken from thee, and send thee straight off to Paradise!" (Friar replies), "Withdraw thy benediction, Locatelli died in heresy, for before his death he cried 'Viva l'Italia!'" Presently the *Lampione* returned to the charge with a series of four cuts representing four acts of "Locatelli, a tragedy, in five acts." The mock trial and the execution are the subjects of the first two. The third and fourth represent the horror and terror of the Pope, conscience-stricken by the atrocity of the legal murder. "The fifth act," it is added, with shrewd significance, "is in preparation."

More recently the *Lampione* has been flying at a still higher quarry; and the great popularity which has welcomed the mordent attacks, in the three or four latest numbers, on the Emperor Napoleon, is an unmistakable proof of the very remarkable change which has taken place in Italy, within the last two or three months, in the tone of public feeling with regard to their great patron, friend, and ally.

One of these is entitled "The European Tailor at the Tuileries." The Emperor is standing by, superintending, while a shopman (Thouvenel) is measuring Ratazzi for a suit of clothes. There are livery coats hanging on the walls, labelled "Cavour," "Villamarina," "Arese," "Negra." On the floor are several large packing-cases. One of these is labelled "Costumes for court and for lackeys. To the members of the Ministry at the Hague." On another is seen a similar inscription, the address being to the Ministry at



Turin. But on the corner of this box is written, "Sent back by Bettino Ricasoli!" Ratazzi says, "What the devil are you doing? With the measure you are taking, I shall not be able to raise my arm!" "Gigi (the Emperor).—The coats sent out from this establishment are intended to allow of small movements only; and it is my system to fit the men to the livery, and not the livery to the men." "Ratazzi.—But how then shall I ever be able to dust a bust of Pio Nono, which there is at home, and which stands in a rather high place. It is as likely as not that I should tear the coat." "Gigi.—If you do tear it I will make you pay dearly for it."

This was followed by others still more audacious in their insinuations; but one published this month, *à propos* of the supposed desire of the Emperor to get rid of Ricasoli from the Ministry, is the most significant and the most audacious of all. It is entitled "French water-wheels, improved and applied in Italy to the cultivation of poisonous plants in Italy." The word "bindolo," a water-wheel, it should be observed, means also a rogue. The plate represents one of those machines for raising water from wells, so frequently seen in Italian gardens. The cogs of the fly-wheel are represented by the heads of the present Italian Ministry, and the Emperor is in the act of taking off the head of Ricasoli to supply it by that of Ratazzi. The capstan by which the wheel is worked is turned by a company of priests, Austrians, and "codini." On the other side of the plate is a portrait of Garibaldi in the costume of a gardener, occupied in sharpening a scythe, and between him and the Emperor is the figure of Italy, who thus speaks:—"Not content with working the wheel round and round, he changes the cogs every minute under the pretence that they are spoilt; and in this way he breeds a quantity of noxious parasitical weeds in my beautiful garden. It is lucky that I have this good fellow Beppone here, who is busy grinding his scythe to make a clear sweep of all the rubbish." (Beppone—Big Joe!—Joseph Garibaldi.) The conclusions drawn from such straws, as to the direction in which the wind of popular opinion is blowing, are abundantly confirmed by the reports of those who have opportunities of judging of the state of the country by personal observation. There can be no doubt that a rapidly rising feeling of hostility and resentment against the Emperor is becoming from day to day more rife, from one end of Italy to the other. That it is difficult to say which Emperor is the more dangerous foe to Italy is an expression often heard from persons of all classes. The notion, to which the popular opinion in Italy so long clung, that the French Emperor had undertaken the war with Austria really and truly from love for Italy and her liberty, has been most effectually dissipated. Much is often talked of national gratitude, but it is very rarely that the sentiment can be found really existing. For many months after the beginning of the war it really did exist in great strength in Italy towards France. Never, perhaps, notwithstanding the undeniable importance of the benefits which resulted to Italy from the action of France, was such a sentiment less deserved or more entirely unreasonable. The error was one creditable to the hearts, at all events, of the impulsive and generous people, which insisted on looking only at the advantage received, and leaving out of its consideration the motives and objects of the benefactor; but it was impossible that it should survive the series of severe "disillusions," which have followed each other in such quick succession. And the mistake has been very effectually set right.

The caricatures which we have been examining are one of the indices, trifling, but unmistakable, of the growth of this temper. And the pre-occupation of the public mind with this and kindred subjects is so strong, that the *Lampione* and the other prints of the same class rarely quit political for merely social subjects. But we cannot refrain from giving our readers one taste of the quality of the social satire of our friend "The Street Lamp," for the sake of the admirable neatness of the epigram which his print illustrates.

Perhaps it may be necessary to premise that a "cross" of some form or other is the emblem of all the different orders of knighthood, with which the continental Governments somewhat profusely decorate those whom they wish to gratify; and that the distribution of these coveted badges is, as a matter of course, a cause of much sneering to those who have them not. Well! the cut in question represents merely a thief on the cross on one side, and one of the "decorated," with a very large cross on his breast, on the other. The jest is in the legend, which runs thus:—

"In tempi men' leggiadri, e più feroci,  
S'appenderano i ladri in sulle croci.  
In tempi men' feroci e più leggiadri,  
S'appendono le croci in petto ai ladri."

Which may be freely Englished as follows:—

"In the rude old times, when the world was green,  
Thieves hung upon crosses were frequently seen.  
But in these days less savage, and far better bred,  
The crosses are hung on the thieves instead."

**LIGHTING COAL MINES BY ELECTRICITY.**—It will, perhaps, be remembered by some of our readers that we suggested the employment of the luminous glow which is produced in a vacuum-tube when the discharge from a Ruhmkorff's coil is passed through it. We now find that Dr. John Taylor, of Glasgow, in some remarks on fire-damp in coal-mines, printed in the "Proceedings of the Philosophical Society" of that city, has proposed identically the same thing. He states that these luminous tubes could be suspended in the centre of the chamber, and if accidentally broken no harm would ensue but the extinction of the light, as the brush from the exposed end of the wire of the metallic battery would not ignite the gaseous mixture.

## FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

### PARIS.

By the accounts of those who have been living in the close *entourage* of Compiègne, the condition of M. Fould is by no means an enviable one. He is, for the moment, like a man who, having, with a good deal of trouble, got upon a horse, finds that the said horse will not go! For a certain time he, and all those about him, supposed that the one difficulty was to bring the Emperor to see and admit the exceeding perplexity of the situation; but that being achieved, they were not prepared to discover that the next stage would be by much the hardest of all. To recognize a difficulty, and then blazon forth to the world that he has recognized it, does not cost Louis Napoleon any tremendous effort. He is always ready for anything of this kind; it is a cheap mode of seeming to be a man of action (which he is not)—and he even—as far as mere words go—will, on such occasions, indulge in a luxury of self-accusatory—you may almost say, self-humiliating—phrases which take many people in by their apparent frankness. But whenever the time comes for real action, and for carrying out what he has either planned himself or allowed to be planned, then his own eminently irresolute nature gets the better of the French Emperor; and the men who have ever embarked with him on a serious venture know but too well what they have to go through before they can bring him to translate his dreams into deeds. Were those men questioned who were associated in the attempts of Strasburg and Boulogne—in the accomplishment of the *coup d'état*—in the actual undertaking of the Italian war—or in any of the acts from which Louis Napoleon has held back, after having made it impossible to himself to escape from the committal of them—were any of these men questioned, they could tell the strangest of all tales of an unsteady mind and lymphatic temperament, shrinking from the execution of his own schemes, and forced to it by men of bolder nature than his own.

M. Fould is in another way experiencing what it has been the fate of the Persignys, and Morny's, and Fleury's, and Saint Arnands to experience under different circumstances. M. Fould will pull through and get his own way in the end, as the others did, but he will have a struggle for it, and that is what he is just having now. I believe that "reduction" must eventually be the order of the day, but till this moment that is not what the Emperor can be brought to agree to. He most magnanimously declared all he had done for the last nine years to be utterly wrong, but when it comes to a question of paying for the wrong-doing, he hangs back and cannot be made even to understand how such great sacrifices are required of him. As to any diminution of the expenditure on public works, that, by common consent, is regarded as impossible, and leading to dangers of too terrible a kind. In the mere Court expenses and Civil List it may be attempted to retrench, but of what effect can that be?—a very drop in the ocean. Retrench, then, the army and navy estimate. Here it is certain that really considerable economy may be made and savings practised that may be worth while.

But this is the one point on which as yet the most desperate contest is waged. Not only does the Emperor himself feel an instinctive repugnance to consent to any material retrenchment in the two war services, and he is supported of course by all the individuals about his *entourage* who belong to those services—not only is this the case, but added to this there comes the Walewski influence, which is still extremely strong, and which lends its entire aid to the cause of non-disarmament! Count Walewski is loud in his persuasion "not to let the prestige of France be diminished," and to these arguments the Emperor listens all the more readily at this moment that he has taken a violent step in the diametrically opposite sense. And hence it comes that at Compiègne just at present, M. Fould is on any thing save a bed of roses, and he has to fight harder now to obtain the consequences that are inevitable since the famous letter of the 14th November, than he had to fight in order to obtain that letter itself. I repeat it, the retrenchments must be effected in the end, but till that is fully admitted, M. Fould's position is a difficult one, and the horse he has contrived to mount won't go.

Another very serious aspect of the present hour is the growing insecurity of whomsoever attempts to express his opinions on politics. A few weeks ago suspicions were raised of a certain M. de Flers, who was supposed to be corresponding with persons in other countries, and writing to them what was not agreeable to the French Government. M. de Flers is a public functionary, being in a high position at the *Cour des Comptes*; it must, therefore, be observed that he had no right whatever to abuse the dynasty whose wages he lived upon. This can only be discussed by people entertaining what Lord Stratford is said to have called "French notions of honour." But let that pass. M. de Flers was suspected of corresponding with the *Independence Belge* (which fact was winked at), and with the Minister of one of the lesser German Kings (which circumstance was held to be unpardonable). The proof would seem to lie in a letter seized at the Post-office, signed, but containing next to nothing. The matter has been agitated violently for the last six weeks: was M. de Flers to be prosecuted, or not? At last it is decided. M. de Flers is to be so. And the Ministers are unanimous on this point. All are on M. de Persigny's side, and say that if only one person can be fixed upon and convicted, it will be easy to lay hands on many others who are accused of writing letters to foreigners as M. de Flers has done.

In the case I mention, obviously there is no right to a free opinion, but there are probably in France no end of persons bitterly opposed to the present system, who have never touched one stiver of Government money, and who have consequently a right to think for themselves,—if the letters of such persons sent to friends abroad should come to be stopped and searched, French people will have nothing more left to distinguish them from the citizens of the ancient Republic of Venice.

The "affaire de Flers" produces an immense sensation, and the trial is expected to take place the end of this week.

A most charming three-act comedy, or rather tragi-comedy, of Alfred de Musset's, has just been brought out, "*On ne badine pas avec l'Amour*," and has obtained a highly merited success. Nothing more fanciful or touching was ever written.



## MUSIC OF THE WEEK.

Will it be believed, that while foreign journals are teeming with accounts of stirring musical events, here in our vast metropolis we are almost at a loss to signalise a single noteworthy occurrence during an entire week, with the exception of the Monday Popular Concerts? The Royal English Opera pursues its silent course, and pins its hope on the production of Mr. Balfe's "Puritan's Daughter," wherein Mr. Santley, we understand, will for once change "a father's love" for love of a more juvenile character. Prince Galitzin's Concerts are still attracting public attention by external illumination, but do not, we fear, prosper as much as could be desired. Instead of filling up the gap between the summer and winter season, and offering the public a good Orchestral Concert, the "Musical Society of London" is indefatigable in advertising their prospectus for the ensuing year, and in reminding the members that their subscription is due from the 1st of December. The "Sacred Harmonic Society" commenced operations last night with Mendelssohn's "Atalie," and Handel's "Dettingen Te Deum," of which we shall speak next week; while the "London Glee and Madrigal Union" have resumed their quiet meetings at the Egyptian Hall, and are well deserving the public support. Yet, in spite of all these good things, people complain that London is miserably dull at this time of the year.

Clearly, a good opera every month, an oratorio every fortnight, and a quartet every week, are hardly commensurate with the wants of a large class of people who would be only too glad to have an opportunity afforded them for passing their evenings in an agreeable manner. We fear "there is something rotten in the state of Denmark." Our whole musical system, in fact, stands in need of remodelling. It makes us shudder to think what we shall have to go through in the summer of 1862! Grand Festivals, two Italian Operas, Great Exhibition Concerts, the Philharmonic Jubilee and Annual Meetings, Dr. Wyld's New Philharmonic, the Musical Society, Mr. Ella's Matinees, and last, not least, an indefinite number of benefit concerts and private "soirées musicales" at noble mansions and fashionable residences. Surely it would not be amiss to adopt the ingenious device of M. Fould of levying a tax on pianos and other musical instruments. Luckily, we are not in the same plight as our poor French neighbours with regard to our public finances, and may yet strike a lucifer-match with impunity, but for all that we are inclined to think that a considerable income might be yielded from a small tax, not on instruments, but on all instrumentalists who may be induced to exhibit their talents during the summer season. Foreign singers especially should be included in the list, being well able to give up a portion of their large salaries for the benefit of the country at large. Thus only would it be possible to look forward to the year 1862 with anything like hope and comfort.

We utterly deny that it is necessary to postpone all concerts until the months of April, May, June, and July, when people are surfeited with music of every description, and compelled to breathe a suffocating atmosphere on a bright summer's day. Even, granting for a moment that the Italian Operas must needs defer their performances until that time, depending as they do principally on the support of the nobility, and the singers being engaged elsewhere, we see no reason whatever why all other public entertainments should take place at the same period of the year. The winter months are equally, if not more favourable, to the enjoyment of music; while, in an artistic point of view, the performances would considerably gain by the change, inasmuch as our artists and orchestral performers would not be obliged to make a toil of their profession, and look upon it as a "business" only, which is after all the bane of our musical institutions, and the principal obstacle to our artistic progress. Again, why should our resident professors, with or without talent, who consider it their duty to invite their kind patrons and friends, year after year, to some musical banquet, insist upon bestowing their favours upon the musical public in the hottest days of the year? We cannot but think that both the "beneficiaire" and the patron would improve their position, the one consulting his interest, and the other heightening his enjoyment, if these benefit concerts were to be given in the early part of the season, when good music is scarce and the purse more plenteous. A great deal more might be said on this subject, but enough has been stated to prove to managers, speculators, and artists, how completely erroneous are their views of the state of music in general, and to point out how little there is, and how much more might be done, to improve our present position.

Among the best musical entertainments alluded to above, the "London Glee and Madrigal Union," supported by Miss J. Wells, Miss Eyles, Messrs. Baxter, W. Cummings, Land, and Lawler take a prominent place. Mr. T. Oliphant, we are sorry to learn, is unavoidably prevented during the present series from giving, as heretofore, his literary illustrations, but some remarks and notices from his clever pen are appended to various pieces contained in the programme. Now that the "English Glee and Madrigal Union," composed of Miss Banks, Mrs. Lockey, Messrs. Foster, Lockey, and Winn, has, we believe, ceased to exist, the "London Glee Union" is the only one that seems likely to hold its ground. There can be no doubt that the love for glees, madrigals, part-songs, and old ballads is steadily increasing, and we fully share the conviction expressed in the preface to the programme "that the more frequently such compositions are heard, and effectively rendered, the greater will be the appreciation of their beauties." The performances, we must admit, have attained a very high degree of perfection. In delicacy, refinement, and tone, they leave but little to be desired. Some of the pieces, however, appeared to us to be somewhat deficient in point and vigour.

The very first number in the programme, a beautiful quintet by Sir Henry Bishop, bears us out in our assertion, being given with much neatness, but without animation. Miss Wells, in a Recitative and Air from "L'Allegro ed il Penseroso," by Handel, and Mr. Cummings in the song from "Acis and Galatea," "Love in her eyes sits beaming," introduced by Herr Reichardt at one of the Crystal Palace Concerts, both gave proof of being well versed in that class of music. The voice of the former, though still young, shows signs of fatigue, while that of the latter, in spite of a certain effeminate tendency, is yet sweet and telling. The glees most worthy of notice were Horsley's "By Celia's arbour"—a perfect gem of its kind—and that of Webbe, "When winds breathe soft along the silent deep," a most exquisite song for five voices, in which the music is wedded to the poetry with remarkable felicity. We have advisedly reserved the pleasure of speaking of Miss Eyles until now,

being unquestionably the pearl of the Union. More artistic singing, a more perfect delivery of the words, and deeper sentiment, more touchingly expressed, it would be difficult indeed to find combined in any singer. In an old traditional ballad, "Near Woodstock Town I chanced to stray," Miss Eyles, without being gifted with a remarkable voice, yet contrived by her unaffected pathos to touch the inmost fibres of the heart, and caused silent tears to steal their way down many a fair cheek. Later in the concert she took part in a "Dialogue Ballad," called "Sandy and Jenny," an imitation of a Scottish song by J. Sanderson, arranged expressly by Mr. Oliphant, "Sandy" being impersonated by Mr. Land.

At the Monday Popular Concerts, on Monday last, Mozart was the hero of the evening, and provided some of his choicest materials for the delight of a large assemblage. The concert opened with his quartet in C major, No. 6, for two violins, viola, and violoncello, the last of all the series dedicated "al Signor Guiseppe Haydn, dal suo amico W. A. Mozart." We must pass over with a word of praise the sonata for pianoforte and violin, in D major, played by M. Hallé and M. Vieuxtemps, to express our sincere admiration for the performance of Mozart's quintet, for clarinet, two violins, viola, and violoncello, in our opinion the gem of the concert. Greater perfection of "ensemble playing" we cannot realise. The clarinet part was in the hands of Mr. Lazarus, than whom no one is more eminently capable of doing it justice. Baerman, Blaes, Verrout, Goudswaard, the best players of the day, might all take a lesson from our countryman in point of grace, style, and purity, while his mechanism and intonation are beyond reproach. His tone, moreover, is as soft as the breathing of a child. The effect created by the exquisite "Larghetto," with muted stringed instruments, will not easily be forgotten. This excellent concert was rendered yet more attractive by the singing of Miss Lancia and Mr. Winn, who, in pieces of Handel, Spohr, Loder, and Mori, gave proofs of talent and taste. Handel's Aria, from the opera "Scipione," introduced for the first time at the Popular Concerts, is a vigorous and spirited composition. However well accompanied by Mr. Benedict, it needs, we think, the orchestra to bring out yet more forcibly the wonderful power of Handel's poetic genius.

## MUSICAL INTELLIGENCE.

THE "Story" of Herr Molique's demise has assumed alarming dimensions. We find it floating in all the foreign musical journals, and think the composer of "Abraham" would do well to give the world convincing proofs of his existence by contradicting the report in the most public manner. For the information of our readers, we have great pleasure in stating that Herr Molique is in the enjoyment of perfect health.

The "London Correspondent" of the "Signale," a paper published at Leipsic, announces the return of Herr Formes to our metropolis, and adds, that the German "Basso" has accepted an engagement at St. Martin's Hall until January. The nature of the engagement is not stated, but as St. Martin's Hall, though rebuilt since the fatal destruction by fire, has remained closed, we are at a loss to know what Herr Formes has been engaged for. Perhaps the well-informed correspondent can enlighten us.

Fraulein Antonini (from London) does not, it appears, flourish at Leipsic as much as her foreign name entitles her to. Her efforts are criticized in not too flattering a manner.

Madame Clara Schumann gave a concert at Hamburgh, in which she performed a new pianoforte quartet by Brahms.

Meyerbeer's operas are beginning to make way in Italy. "Robert le Diable," at Milan, and "Les Huguenots," at Bologna and Naples, are amongst the most successful pieces of the repertory. Flotow's "Martha," with Madlle. Lotti della Santa, late of Covent Garden, has produced the greatest sensation at Florence.

Accounts from Paris are full of interest. At the Grand Opera, a ballet pantomime, by Messrs. Paul, Foucher, and Borri, music by M. le Comte Gabrielli, has been received with great favour. The great attraction lies, of course, in the magnificence of the decorations and *mise-en-scène*, as well as in the graceful dancing of Madame Ferraris.

At the Theatre Lyrique two new operas, "Le Café du Roi," by M. Delfès, and "La Nuit aux Gondoles," by Messrs. Barbier and Pascal, both in one act, have been brought out with moderate success.

## MR. C. MATHEWS AT HOME.

THE theory of the old philosopher, that all passing events are only repetitions of what has happened before, sometimes appears to be better founded than speculative absurdities usually are. It is curious to remark how much of the "hereditary principle" is to be found in the theatrical world, generally supposed to be the lightest and most evanescent of spheres. Playbills,—those things of the hour,—reproduce names and dramas that were popular and familiar forty years ago. Service is no inheritance, but acting may be; so we still have a Kean as *Hamlet*, and a Booth as *Richard*; and this week has added to the list a "Mathews at Home."

The newest "Entertainment" is being given by the son of the actor who originated that class of performance. Mr. C. Mathews has crossed the Haymarket to Her Majesty's Concert-room, and is there "at home" to the public every evening. His subject is that on which most men are said to be voluble, and few amusing—that is, himself. He gives his "reminiscences," a kind of autobiography, illustrated by some very pretty scenery in miniature, collected from his own sketch-book. This spoken memoir is divided into two parts—the first, the "romance" of his life; the second, the "reality;" only by the strange duality of an actor's existence the romantic division of his career is confined to his actual life as Charles Mathews studying architecture, and the reality—painful enough some of it—begins with his fictitious life of the stage, as Charles Mathews the actor.

Though he rather ridicules the old style of "entertainment," with its "thousand wigs in a thousand seconds," his own does not much differ from many of the more recent forms of it, except that the subject is personal. Quick changes of costume, and "personations" by himself and Mrs. Mathews, break and illustrate the narrative. The best of them is Mr.



*Barn-door Fowler*, a country actor applying for an engagement, who of course considers Mr. C. Mathews as overrated and a humbug, and proceeds to show that he can do all his crack parts quite as well. The complexity of Mr. C. Mathews' acting an actor who imitates himself, is very amusing. The bits of *Patter and Clatter*, and *Sir C. Coldstream*, were, of course, quite as good as the original; and we must add, far superior to anything he effects when speaking in his own person.

The entertainment is well worth seeing, if only for the distinctness with which it shows the immense difference between mere speaking and acting. C. Mathews, narrating his own life, a true incident or real anecdote is not more effective than many hundreds of gentlemen inflicting themselves on their friends. There is nothing assumed; he is prosy, hesitating, and not exceedingly impressive, much as if he were returning thanks for a testimonial, after dinner. But the moment he "rings" for a personation, he is more truly "himself again," cool, unembarrassed, rapid, clever, and amusing. In fact, when he is acting, he seems more natural, in one sense, than when he is really so. He is much more at home as *Sir C. Coldstream* than as Charles Mathews; he is a capital personator, while as a narrator we cannot call him remarkable. As the best parts of his entertainment are those he has brought from the stage, we hope he will soon return to it; he is best when he is all the artist; why give himself to the public in small fragments, unless, indeed, the Charles Mathews *loquitur* and the broken bits of the actor pay better; an argument to which there is no reply.

#### DRURY LANE THEATRE.

A burlesque of the *Colleen Bawn* has been produced at Drury Lane Theatre with very great success. The author is Mr. H. J. Byron, undoubtedly the first burlesque writer of the day. The piece is very ingeniously constructed, and is full of broad fun and humour. It is well acted, too, and the "points" are received nightly with warm applause. It is likely to have a long run, and Mr. Byron has added another to his numerous triumphs.

### Reviews of Books.

#### THE RUSSIANS ON THE AMUR.\*

PARTLY from knowing so much more of our own history than that of any other country, partly from the great political interest attached to such vast colonies as America and Australia, partly from the current belief in the general superiority of that mixture of Kelts, Romans, Danes, and Normans, which we are pleased to call the great Anglo-Saxon race, and partly from the real magnitude of our several enterprises, we are too much in the habit of thinking that the natives of Great Britain have a monopoly in the arts of exploration and colonization, and that no other race gives equal examples of boldness and enterprise. No error is greater. Not to mention what was effected by the French in the backwoods of Canada and the United States, where the extreme West is full of the French names of rivers and mountains, the conquest of Siberia by the Russians is a standing monument to the contrary. No individual of English blood is to be compared as a colonizer with the great settler and adventurer, Yermak, who first planted Russian civilization, such as it was, in the vast tracts beyond the Ural. Within a century after Yermak crossed the frontier, Kamtschatka was a Russian Government. The Aleutian Islands, and a vast block of land, with a valuable strip of sea-coast, which, even now, lies between the British possessions and the Pacific, followed. Nor is the material improvement of particular districts incommensurate with the surface over which the Russian Empire has extended itself. Trokutsk, Yakutsk, and (of more recent origin) Barnaul, are important and industrial towns: the first a seat of government, the second the great centre of the fur trade, the third a thriving and still increasing mining town.

Upon the character of the Russian of Siberia there is a difference of opinion, and conflict of evidence. The general opinion is in his favour. He is cleaner, neater, less drunken, simpler, and harder, than the proper Muscovite. Castrén, however, who saw more of him than other travellers, and who, as a Finn, was in the way of forming a more impartial judgment, gives an unfavourable verdict. He is idle, bigotted, unenterprising. In some cases, where he has come in contact with radical and dangerous exiles, he is advanced in his political ideas. Upon the whole, however, he has not improved by being transplanted.

Of the native races the details are numerous and complicated; and in many cases they present us with some of the most remarkable curiosities of ethnology. We can hardly say what some of the populations of Northern Asia actually are. Thus there are tribes which five generations ago were what is called Yeniseians, members of an almost extinct stock. Then, two of the tribes out of five amalgamate with the Samoyeds, two with the Tartars, and (perhaps) the fifth with the Mongols. Then the Samoyeds adopt the Tartar language. Then, perhaps, the Tartar itself is superseded by the Mongol, which, by A.D. 1900, will be superseded, in its turn, by the Russians.

Of the old paganism much is left *puris naturalibus*; while more underlies an imperfect Christianity. Upon the whole, however, the Russian missionaries have been neither inactive nor unsuccessful. On Protestant Propagandists the Government looks unfavourably. They may stay in the country and learn as many languages as they like; but they may not make converts. In short, they are missionaries without a mission.

Beginning with the tribes of the West, the first we meet are the miserable Samoyeds, Voguls, and Ostiaks, with no political importance whatever. More fragmentary and more unimportant still are the so-called Ostiaks of the Yenisey. One branch of them is reduced to five families—five families with a peculiar language, understood by no one within 300 miles—and a nationality differing from that of Poland and Hungary in its dimensions only. They stick to it, however, and that wisely. It carries some privileges with it; and as long as they

call themselves by their old name, Kot, they escape certain taxes—we should rather say tribute; for a tale of skins for every adult male is the contribution to the Russian treasury that these fragmentary aborigines have to pay.

Next in order come the tribes of Turk, or Tartar, origin; offsets from the great central block of land that, by the courtesy of the map-makers, figures in books of geography as Independent Tartary. The little independence it possesses lies in the parts about Khiva, and on the southern frontier, where the Uzbeks and Turcomans are free enough for the purposes of robbery, which they exercise equally in the directions of Siberia and Persia. We hear now and then of Russian attempts upon Khiva, and the alarmists of Leadenhall-street are shocked at the unscrupulous system of aggression, of which, in their opinion, England in India gives so few, and Russia in Tartary so many, discreditable instances. So clearly do they see the mote in the eye of their neighbours, so little the beam in their own. If Russia do nothing worse than coerce the robbers and kidnappers of that part of Tartary which retains this mischievous independence, little in the way of blame lies at her doors. There are enough of white slaves of Russian blood in Khiva, to justify more than what she has yet succeeded in doing. Whether the protrusion of her frontier is good for India, is a matter upon which she will hardly ask our advice; nor will independent lookers-on condemn her for taking counsel of no one but herself.

Of the tribes thus allied to the Turks the most interesting are the Yakuts. They are found as far north as Lake Baikal; then, following the Lena, they reached the Arctic circle, and now, forming the bulk of the population of the Government of Yakutsk, touch the shores of the Ioy Sea; their language being, for short and simple sentences, intelligible to an Osmanli of Constantinople. They thrive in their northern locality just as a Norwegian thrives at the North Cape; trade in furs; amass money; and were talked of during the Crimean war as available sharpshooters. Many of the Russians assimilate themselves to them, speak their language, and comport themselves as Yakuts.

Further east comes a population which is almost as fragmentary as the Kot—that of the Yukahiri. Their "hearths were once as numerous as the stars in the sky." Now they are reduced to a few families.

Just at the north-eastern extremity the hardy Tshuktshi preserve their independence, and they (with one exception) are the only Siberian aborigines who do so.

The Kurile islands, running from Kamtschatka to Japan are also Russian, with a concurrent claim for some of the southern ones on the part of Japan. Between Japan and Russia the relations will increase. Probably they will be regulated by the increase of our own and those of America.

*Russia on the Amur*, however, is Russia so far as it is in contact and relation with China; and it cannot be doubted that either her frontier, or her influence, or both, is on the increase in the direction of Pekin. It moves obscurely and mysteriously, but (we believe) surely. The western part of the line of demarcation nearly coincides with the frontiers of Mongolia, occupied by the Mongols Proper. The difference, however, is more political than ethnological or natural; inasmuch as the immediate congeners of the Mongols, the Buriats, form the bulk of the Russian Government of Irkutsk; so that a Buriat is, in reality, little more than a Mongol of Russia.

As the Mongols of China are represented in Russia by the Buriats, the Mantshus of the Celestial Empire are represented in Siberia by the different divisions of the Tungusian family. Though these pass for some of the rudest populations of Asia, and, though the Mantshus look down upon them, they are hardy, energetic, and enterprising men. Castrén met some of them as far west as the Obi, and they left him with the impression that they could go anywhere and trade in anything.

It is with the details of the eastern Tungusians that the work before us begins, and for the whole of the population on the left bank of the Amur it gives us the fullest account that is to be found in the English or (we believe) any other language.

Of the Russian territories on the Amur (all of which, it must be remembered, are recent annexations) the details are as follows:—

Province.	Square miles.	Natives.
The Amur.....	164,000	5,200
Ussuri, Sofyevsk, and Nikolayevsk	179,000	9,800
Russian Sakhalin.....	18,000	8,500
	361,000	23,500

By Russian Sakhalin is meant the northern portion of that long, narrow island, which, lying in front of the mouth of the Amur, extends through no less than eight degrees of latitude (i.e., from 51° N.L. to 46° N.L.), and belongs in the upper two-thirds to Russia, and in its lower third to Japan.

Arranging these 23,500 aborigines according to tribe, stock, class, or nationality, they give the following table:—

Orochongs of the Upper Amur.....	260
Manyarks and Birars.....	3,000
Daurians.....	2,000
Goldi.....	3,560
Olcha, or Mangurs.....	1,100
Negidals and Kile (Samgers).....	1,000
Oroches of the Seacoast.....	1,000
Sakhalin.....	1,000
Gilyaks.....	8,180(?)
Ainos.....	1,000
Chinese.....	1,400
	23,500

Of these, the Daurians and the Orochongs are mere continuations of the population of the parts about Nertshinsk; the others, however, have a variety of differential characteristics. The Manyarks, Manyaks, Monagirs, or Manegres (for in all these different manners the word is spelt), are fishermen and horse-keepers.

\* "The Russians on the Amur: its Discovery, Conquest, and Colonization," &c. By E. G. Ravenstein, F.R.G.S. Trübner & Co.



They occupy the valley of the Dzeya and the lower levels on the left bank of the Middle Amur. They are somewhat undersized, and spare in frame, with their arms and legs weak. Nor have they credit of being either a bold or a high-spirited population. When subject to China, they were liable to both the payment of tribute and the conscription, and, apparently, to forced labour and other oppressive exactions at the hands of the Mandarins, under whom their sense of independence was wholly crushed. As the Chinese dominion is now superseded by that of Russia, many of the hardships to which they were exposed are diminished; and the tendency to assimilate themselves to the Chinese in dress, manners, and language, has been, to some extent, arrested.

They occupy the Amur below the Orotshong, but as they are to a great extent a population of fresh-water fishermen, when summer sets in, they ascend the stream. The sturgeon and beluga are the fishes that they most value, and it is with the harpoon or the snare that they take them. The roe is sold to the Russians, or, rather, it is bartered for rye meal.

It is in the use of the horse rather than the rein-deer; in the occupancy of a level or undulating country rather than a mountain-chain; in a greater tincture of Chinese civilization, and in a more submissive demeanour, that the Manyak chiefly differs from the Orotshong.

The Goldi, like their nearest congeners, the Orochis of the sea-coast, have slightly adopted the fashion of the Manchous. In general, the hair is tied up in a bunch, and either hangs loosely down the neck, or is plaited. Neither beard nor moustache is encouraged; nor, if it were allowed to grow, would either be plentiful. In some cases, however, the fashion of shaving the head has been adopted. In like manner, the dress is after the Chinese fashion, even though it be made of dog-skin or fish-skin. And here it may be remarked, that these are the parts where the skins of fishes are most especially made subservient to the toilette. Having taken a large fish, they skin it skilfully, and beat the skin with a mallet until the scales come off, and the thick, oily corium becomes supple. In a dress of this kind they defy snow, mist, and rain. The belt bears an elaborate *chataleine*, consisting of a knife, a tinder-box, a whetstone, a needle-case, and a prong for cleaning out their pipes. Their leggings (for stockings they can hardly be called), like their hats, are made of the bark of the birch-tree. Both sexes tattoo the face. In the summer, they hunt such animals as serve for food; in the winter, the hunt is mainly for the fur-bearing animals. In their buildings, as in their wardrobe, and in their boats as in their buildings, the bark of the birch-tree plays a conspicuous part. The smaller boats carry one man, who works it with a paddle. The larger ones, well adapted for navigating the shallows of the river, are from twelve to twenty feet long, and carry sails. The staunchest of all are hollowed out of the trunks of trees. The huts are sometimes square, sometimes conical, sometimes in the shape of a beehive. In fishing, they use the hook, the net, and a harpoon with a bladder attached to it; the nets being made of hemp or nettles. Many fish are caught in weirs, elaborately constructed.

There is no want of skill in metallurgy, though neither iron nor charcoal are abundant. One of the birds which is occasionally brought into a state of imperfect domestication is the eagle; which they use as a sort of watch-dog to protect their fish, whilst hung up to dry in the sun, against the smaller and more ignoble birds. Like so many other inhabitants of lands that are likely to be flooded, their permanent habitations are villages rather than houses, containing from thirty to forty individuals. In the way of creed they are Shamanists; Tanya and Panga being the names of two of their Gods.

There is a distinct deity for every disease, and, in like manner, a distinct charm as a remedy. Thus, a bandage round the head, with images of serpents, toads, and other animals, is an amulet against a headache. Another mode of cure consists in wearing an image of the part diseased. If we did this in England, a man with a heart-burn would wear a little heart round his neck.

Corpses are buried, and, where it can be afforded, a hut is erected over the grave. Near these are hung up nets, bows, and spears. Near them, too, stands a wooden idol, whose face is besmeared with oil. When poverty forbids interment, the coffin is simply lodged in the fork of a tree. The father chooses the son's wife whilst the son is still a child, and the intended bride lives with her future husband and her future parents-in-law until she grow up. Polygamy, though not general, is allowed; and when one out of two brothers dies, the survivor takes the widow with the estate. Their pursuits and amusements are many. It is needless to say that they venture boldly on the water and boldly in the forest. We have seen that they take the eagle, or, rather, the osprey, and tame it. This, however, they do in a very unsportsmanlike manner. They watch the bird to its nest, and wait till the young birds are just able to fly; they then fell the tree and steal the nestlings. Bears, too, they domesticate, and keep in sties or cages, each village having its bear and the sty in which they keep him. He is an important element in their religion, and is distinguished as the *chief*, whilst the tiger is called the *black chief*. To take a bear alive is more dangerous and more honourable than to kill him. When brought home to his sty, he is fed upon fish, and led forth on high festivals. To get him out, they open the roof, tease him till he stands on his hind legs, sling a rope round his body, and pull him upwards. On great occasions he is killed and eaten. After the festival the skull and ears are suspended on a tree. Besides the bear and eagle, the horned owl, the jay, the hawk, and the kite, though not domesticated, are encouraged to keep about their huts. Of horses, they have few; of cats, few; of dogs and pigs, many; the latter being fed for the most part with fish. One of their amusements is wrestling. In carving they show some skill; and in the arrangement of colours some taste. Of their songs we know nothing in the way of detail; we only know that they exist, and that the taste for music is not below that of other rude nations.

Such are the representatives of two of the principal groups into which the population of these parts is distributed,—a population which is, at one and the same time, maritime, fluvial, and insular; which is Russian, Chinese, and Japanese in its political relations; which dresses in fish-skins; and which keeps bears as other men keep pigs.

The Giliaks, like the Tshuktshi, are independent, and the Airio are of little importance.

Upon these, however, as well as upon the history of Russian progress, upon the botany, upon the zoology, upon the commerce, and upon the commercial bearings of an almost unknown country, the work before us is full of important and accurate information.

#### THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER, K.C.B.\*

[CONCLUDING NOTICE.]

NAPIER'S restoration to the service was not wholly unaccompanied by annoyance—which, however, in all likelihood, proceeded more from the excessive blundering of the authorities at the Admiralty, than from any deliberate intention to hurt his feelings. They granted him a good-service pension, but the statement of his services which they placed in the navy estimates was so incomplete, that he regarded it as an insult. He was not a man to put up with an insult, real or fancied, but he got no substantial redress. He sent an official letter to the Board, who adhered to their statement, because they had once made it. "What they had written, they had written." He remonstrated in person with Lord Minto, the First Lord, but that noble peer declined interfering, "because he had written officially to the Board." Lord Palmerston said it was not in his department; Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister, made a rule of never admitting anything to be in his; and Napier was forced to be contented with having the matter brought before the House of Commons, when his old comrades stood forth gallantly in his defence; and in the debate which took place it was fully admitted, as he reported to his wife, "that his services stood higher than those of any officer in the navy." This must have been a bit of exaggeration, for he himself could hardly have compared them to those of Lord Dundonald; and Hardy, and Codrington, and others of the old Trafalgar heroes were still alive; but at all events he received compliments enough to appease his wounded sense of honour; and perhaps it may have been partly owing to the zeal with which his services were extolled on this occasion, that the Admiralty, before the end of the year, appointed him to the *Powerful*, 84, one of the finest ships of her class.

He was destined to show her capabilities on the very theatre which he would himself have chosen. As usual, the moment he had nothing active to do he began to write, to all sorts of papers and all sorts of Ministers. And, next to some naval reforms, on the propriety of which he insisted, he had urged the necessity of strengthening our fleet in the Mediterranean, and of "at once ascertaining whether Russia was prepared to maintain the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi or not," because, of all the countries in Europe, whose respective naval force he explained to the Ministry, and whose probable views he analysed with great perspicuity, Russia was the "power which ought most to excite the jealousy of this country." It was the end of June, 1839, before he started on actual service, and his characteristic energy was fully displayed on the occasion. It was late at night on June 29, when, in the Cove of Cork, he received orders to sail instantly for the Levant, where the course which affairs had taken rendered it desirable to reinforce our fleet without delay. So urgent, indeed, was the Admiralty that there should be no delay, that he was directed not even to wait for charts of the Mediterranean, but to make the best of his way to Malta without them. On the receipt of the despatch he "immediately sent for Mr. Pearson (the master), asked him if he could take the ship out of Cove Harbour during the night, and on his replying in the affirmative, hammocks were piped up, a gun was fired, the Blue Peter hoisted, and in an hour after the receipt of the order the *Powerful* would have been under sail, had not the capstan unfortunately broke while heaving the last anchor out of the ground. However, by two next morning, they were under way." At Gibraltar Napier took on board the author, who was then in garrison, but who obtained a few weeks' leave, and General Napier, therefore, is able to give us an account of the Captain's management of his ship from his personal observation. It is interesting to learn that Napier, though, like all good officers, averse to the infliction of corporal punishment, was fully convinced that it was impossible to dispense with the power; and his opinion in another respect coincided with that which has been formed by civilians of the soundest judgment, that "it was not the severity but the certainty of punishment that led to the prevention of crime" (I. 369).

At the same time, "he endeavoured, as much as possible, to substitute other punishments for that of the lash. . . . One mode which he adopted was to have the neck of the culprit encased in a large wooden collar, such as is often placed on pigs to prevent them from breaking through a fence; and to make him in this ridiculous guise parade the quarter-deck for a certain number of hours, exposed to the jeers of his companions." He fully expected to be soon in action, and accordingly was very diligent in training his men; and soon brought his crew into a high state of efficiency. The enemy with whom he was to engage was, however, not Russia, as he had anticipated, but Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt. Mehemet had declared war against his Sovereign, the Sultan, and had gained some advantages over his troops, relying, among other things, on the known favour of France; but England had united with Russia and Austria in a convention with the Porte, by the terms of which it was arranged that, if the Sultan conceded a portion of Mehemet's demands, those powers should compel Mehemet to withdraw the rest. The Pasha, however, wholly rejected the proposals made to him, showing a determination to keep his hold, even by force, of the acquisitions which he had made; and it was determined therefore to compel him by force to relinquish them. The Commander-in-Chief of our fleet in the Mediterranean at this time was Sir Robert Stopford; Napier joined him in the *Dardanelles* at the beginning of August. There the fleet remained so long inactive, that he was thoroughly disgusted, and talked of resigning his ship, and coming home.

\* The Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B., from personal recollections, letters, and official documents. By Major-General Elers Napier, author of "Scenes and Sports in Foreign Lands," &c. 2 vols. 8vo. Hurst & Blackett.



but, luckily, his wiser friends prevailed on him to renounce all idea of so ill-judged a step; though, on hearing of the death of Sir Frederick Maitland in India, he did apply to succeed him, assuring the Admiralty that "if they wanted a man to go at a moment's warning to send the Chinese junks to the devil," he was ready.

His position was somewhat improved by Captain Parker, of the *Rodney*, who was his senior officer, and had a broad pendant, going home; after which Sir Robert occasionally placed a small squadron under Napier's orders; and at last, in July, 1840, he was sent with a small force to Beyrout, though as yet his hands were tied, and his orders were "to do nothing." In spite, however, of this somewhat chilling order, he showed such energy, and also such judgment, that the Admiralty recommended the Commander-in-Chief to avail himself of whatever opportunities might present themselves of employing him on detached service. And, when Stopford joined him the first week in September, he left the chief conduct of the subsequent measures to him. We have no space to enter into the diplomatic events of the next few weeks; we must limit ourselves to our Commodore's warlike exploits. He probably was influenced no little by his recollections of Nelson's exploits by land in Corsica; and, as Sir Charles Smith, who had been sent out to command the engineers, was ill, he persuaded the admiral to allow him to remain on shore, and take the troops under his command. He writes to Mrs. Napier:—"Wonders will never cease! Just fancy me commanding an army of 7,000 men in the mountains of Lebanon." Whatever she may have thought, the Pasha had but little reason to fancy him in such a position. Supported by a small squadron, at the head of a small detachment, he took Sidon by storm; and in less than a fortnight afterwards defeated Ibrahim Pasha (Mehemet's son), at the battle of Boharsef—the victory being followed by the evacuation of Beyrout by the Egyptians. For an account of his vast personal exertions at this time, we must refer our readers to General Napier's "Memoir." So great was the impression of his skill and valour which he created in the minds of the Turks, that they dubbed him "The great Commodore," and made up their minds that he must be the son of Sir Sidney Smith, the former "Great Commodore," whose repulse of Bonaparte was still fresh in the memories of some of the aged mountaineers; and he must have confirmed their idea when, three weeks afterwards, he took Acre, and put a finishing-stroke to the war. After which exploit he was sent with a detached squadron to Alexandria, where he had the satisfaction of personally concluding a convention with Boghos Jousouf Bey, Mehemet's plenipotentiary, by which the rebellious Pasha agreed to evacuate Syria, and accepted the terms which we and our allies imposed upon him. As usual, he reports his success to Mrs. Napier:—"You have seen me," says he, "a Lord High Admiral, a Commodore, and a General; I have now turned a 'negotiator.' I have made peace with Mehemet Ali. Heaven knows whether the Government will approve or not of what I have done; but I know I am right." Universally approved it was not; for the Sultan himself was furious, and Lord Ponsonby, our Ambassador at the Porte, wholly denied his authority to conclude such a convention. Our Austrian allies also knew not what to think, but were rather inclined to be glad the thing was done, and to look upon the deed as "a valuable madman." However, the Ministry at home cordially praised and adopted the treaty, and created him a Knight Commander of the Bath, and the Admiralty made him a Commodore of the first class. Their approval, however, of his diplomatic services, did not incline them to wish to see him in the House of Commons; and as they refused him leave to come home to stand for Marylebone, he resigned his ship, came home, stood, and was successful. We have, however, no space to record his Parliamentary labours, or to do more than allude to the fact of his having himself published a full account of his Syrian campaign, and must pass on at once to his command in the Baltic, where his conduct gave rise to so much adverse criticism.

The causes which led to the war with Russia, its commencement, its details, so chequered with suffering and glory (though the suffering compelled so stern an inquiry into the mismanagement, to which it was clearly traceable, that, harrowing as it was at the time, it was fraught with permanent advantage to the nation); its splendid results, which showed how unfounded was the dread of the might of Russia, and threw that unscrupulous empire back in her career of aggression, giving both her power and her reputation a blow, which it will take her years to recover, are still fresh in the recollection of every one. We have already seen that years before Napier had considered Russia as the enemy, against whom it was most needful for us to be on our guard, so that we are not surprised to find that, at the very first rumour of war with her, he expressed his wish to be employed. "I see," he writes to the First Lord, "the Russians have crossed the Pruth; if my services are wanted, I am quite ready for work both in body and mind." There could be no hesitation in accepting those services, and the very moment that war was decided on, he was appointed to the command of the Baltic Fleet. He himself would have preferred the Mediterranean, partly because he had long had an eye on Sebastopol, and partly because he considered that he could do more with the Turks than any other officer, as "he had before led them to victory, and as they had not forgotten him." But the selection of him for the Baltic in preference was in fact a higher compliment, as it was in that sea that the Admiralty expected the chief naval struggle to take place. In the Baltic, it was conceived, was the strongest Russian fortress; there, it was certain, was the most powerful Russian fleet; and, moreover, it was from the waters of the Baltic alone, if any disaster should befall us there, that any squadron could come to assail our own shores or shipping. To the Baltic, therefore, as the naval officer who had had most experience of actual warfare, was Napier sent. It was a splendid fleet, as far as ships went, that was now placed under his orders. His own flag was hoisted on board the *Duke of Wellington*, 30, one of the most magnificent first-rates in the world, and gradual reinforcements raised the whole force to 19 ships of the line, with frigates and paddle-steamers; but they were insufficiently manned, not only in numbers, but in the still more essential point of the quality of the men; the crews of most of the ships being completed with "landsmen of the lowest class" (ii. 216).

Napier, however, never despaired; and from the day that he accepted the command, issued minute directions for training the men at the guns; looking eagerly forward to an early brush with the enemy. But his resolution was founded on no over-estimate of his resources; on the contrary, when the command was first offered to him, he had pointed out the deficiencies of the fleet which it was proposed to entrust to him so plainly as to offend the First Lord, Sir James Graham, who hinted, in reply, that if he were dissatisfied he need not go. His reply had then been, "that he had never made difficulties when service was required, and after a long life spent in honour, he was not going to make them now. He should consider himself a coward, and unworthy of holding her Majesty's commission, were he to decline any service, however desperate." But while resolved to do his best, he was very careful to moderate the expectations of the public, who, unused to war, and unable to judge of his difficulties, had formed the most irrational expectations of what he was to achieve. Nor was this unreasonableness confined to the ill-informed. On the contrary, at a dinner given to the Admiral at the Reform Club, before his departure, Lord Palmerston and Sir James Graham had talked with childish exultation of the brilliant and immediate success which he was to achieve; while Napier himself was the only person who, while promising to do his best, warned his companions not to expect too much. Meantime, he received most formidable accounts of the strength of the Russian force. The fleet consisted of 27 sail of the line, 15 frigates and corvettes, and at least 50 (or, according to one report received from our Minister at St. Petersburg, 180) gunboats; while one of the forts at Cronstadt alone mounted 128 guns, some of which were 112 pounders, the others were almost equally strong, and Sveaborg was nearly as formidable as Cronstadt.

Again, we must regret our want of space to follow our gallant admiral through his separate exploits. The difficulties of the Baltic navigation, and especially of the narrow channels of the Belt and Sound, had been painfully experienced by Nelson half a century before, and they were fully as embarrassing to Napier now. But Nelson had shown that they could be surmounted, and Napier now repeated the demonstration. He had one difficulty to contend with from which Nelson was free, for he was continually perplexed by contradictory information and orders from the authorities at home. Yet amid all these difficulties his passage of the Belt stamps him as a seaman of the highest class; his capture of Bomarsund shows that sixty-seven years had not chilled his courage nor abated his energy; while his steady refusal to attack either Cronstadt or Sveaborg, because his own judgment showed him that any attempt on those fortresses with the force which he had at his command must fail, proves him to have been possessed in a most eminent degree of that which is both more rare, and in a commander-in-chief more valuable than even energy or seamanship, the moral courage to do what he knew to be right at the risk of being accused of having done wrong. In December he returned to England, and found that the risk of being so accused had become a certainty. The British public was in one of its most unjust tempers. One of the Lords of the Admiralty who stood by him till the storm got too violent for his fortitude, had written to him,—"John Ball is uproarious because nobody is killed or wounded" (a similar outcry had at one time been raised against Wellington in the Peninsula). "Meetings are being called to condemn the Government because Cronstadt and Sebastopol have not been captured." And when he reached England he found that the "uproar" had proved victorious, it had driven Lord Aberdeen from the Treasury, and the Admiralty were resolved to try and sacrifice Napier's reputation to save themselves.

He was not a man to submit to be so sacrificed. They did try to stop his mouth by giving him the Grand Cross of the Bath; he refused the order; and, having been returned to Parliament as member for Southwark, early in the spring of 1855, he brought the treatment he had received under the notice of the House of Commons. He did not succeed in his motion; but he certainly did succeed in fully justifying himself in the eyes of all impartial people; and if anything was wanted to prove the consummate judgment with which he had acted in his command, that proof was furnished in the next year by Admiral Dundas, who did less with a finer fleet. He lived five years more, doing his best to expose the different defects which he saw or imagined in the administration of the navy. His objections may not have been always well founded, his suggestions not always well conceived, his language not always judicious or appropriate, but it cannot be questioned that throughout it was dictated by a loyal affection for his country, and an honest zeal for that service to which his country owes so much of her glory, to which glory he had in no small degree contributed. He died November 6, 1860, having, as he himself had said of his heroic cousin and namesake, the conqueror of Scinde, "fought a battle with the enemy with as much courage as he always did, but being beaten at last."

We have said much less than is deserved of a skilful sailor and a brave man. Of this memoir of him it is sufficient to say that we took it up with an idea that he was brave, skilful, and very ill-treated. We have laid it down with a conviction that he was a much better officer, and much more unjustly treated, than we had previously had any suspicion.

#### SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE ITALIAN REVOLUTION.\*

THE Italian revolution, not yet completed, and indeed at the present moment in such a condition that no man can say when it will arrive at its completion, has been abundantly discussed in all its possible political aspects, and with every political bias imaginable; but its social aspect, which, with such a people as the Italians, is in many respects not less interesting to the philosophical inquirer than that presented by a strictly political view of it, has hitherto been passed over. The void thus left is filled up in the present volume by Mrs. Trollope, a lady whose husband has in more than one work shown his intimate acquaintance with and his judicious apprehension of the past and present history of Italy, and

\* Social Aspects of the Italian Revolution, in a series of letters from Florence. With a sketch of subsequent events up to the present time. By Theodosia Trollope. Chapman and Hall, 1861.



the various phases of Italian character; and who here shows herself of a kindred spirit, both in the power of forming correct conclusions, and of giving neat and pointed expression to them. The task which she has thus proposed to herself is one in which a woman's pen might be expected to shine, so peculiarly are the qualities of the female mind, when highly cultivated, calculated for the insight into, and the appreciation of those minute shades of character which the brilliant and impulsive genius of the Italians develop more than perhaps any other nation. She herself was a resident at Florence when the first outbreak occurred, which drove the Grand Duke of Tuscany from his throne. And she describes with great vividness the strange scene that took place when the people, so long contented to be misgoverned, raised the fierce shout of *Viva la Guerra*; undismayed by the heavy fire of the fortresses which commanded the city, and by the advance of the troops with fixed bayonets through the streets, "those on the right and left trottoirs firing in at the windows of the houses on the opposite side of the street!"

This was in April, 1859. Two months later occurred that most monstrous sack of Perugia by the troops of the Pope, many of the details of which are recorded by Mrs. Trollope with terrible plainness. Perugia, according to her account, had not 300 men capable of bearing arms when her citizens "stretched forth their hands for help and protection to the King of Sardinia." So perfect was the order preserved by the Provisional Government that the Cardinal Legate returned not only in safety, but in honour, a military guard being given him for an escort; yet, hardly had he departed, when 2,000 Papal troops forced their way into the city and commenced an indiscriminate massacre,—how indiscriminate may be gathered, not from any highly-coloured statement of indignant patriots, but from the official report sent in to the Government of Tuscany. The soldiers of the Apostolic See were not content with slaying men, nor always with merely slaying them. Some were "quartered and flung into the Tiber;" "a sucking infant was torn from its mother's arms and drowned before her eyes;" Storti, a hotel keeper, "with all his servants, was stripped naked and cut to pieces;" "the daughter of Captain Polidori, five years old," was put to death. And these unheard-of barbarities were thus described in the *Giornale di Roma*:—"A column of troops under Colonel Schmidt penetrated into the city and re-established the legitimate government, to the satisfaction of all good men," the same paper containing the additional information that "the Holy Father, in order to manifest his satisfaction to the above-named colonel, had deigned to promote him to the rank of brigadier-general . . . and had ordered due encomiums to be given to the troops who so highly distinguished themselves" (p. 47). Yet, perhaps, if the troops of Colonel Schmidt really were soldiers, Perugia might thank her stars that she was given up to them rather than to some of the emissaries of his Holiness, for our authoress affirms, as a fact, that "a number of galley-slaves were released by the Roman Government, and furnished with passports for Romagna" (p. 155); and probably even the worst soldiers were better than the released galley-slaves.

Clearly the partisans of the Pope were slow to believe that their reign was over; and Mrs. Trollope tells us one capital story in proof of this. "Androzzi addressed a polite epistle to Ricasoli, requesting to be liberated without delay, and faithfully promising to requite the favour by acting as counsel for the defence, on occasion of the Baron's trial for high treason, which is certain," he says, "to take place within a short time, on the restoration of Ferdinand," (p. 172) (to his throne at Florence). Ricasoli, however, was not to be moved by this intimation of his impending danger; and a little further on (p. 173) we have an interesting account of his appearance at the grand ball given by the municipality of Florence at the Poggio Imperiale. The moment that he entered, the orchestra struck up the new national hymn, the "Cross of Savoy," and the whole scene recalled to the recollection of the guests the stirring words which the great Minister had, a few days before, addressed to the National Guard, when he presented their standards to the new battalion. Perhaps the most interesting passage in Mrs. Trollope's book is that in which she describes the entrance of Prince Eugene, of Savoy, into Florence, as Lieutenant of Tuscany, with Ricasoli as Governor-General. "The whole city bloomed with silken hangings, bright banners, and brighter faces; the country folks flocked in from the adjacent districts, and even from distant villages; and though, owing to the number of presentations to the Prince at Leghorn, his arrival was necessarily delayed for two hours, the disappointment was borne by the assembled multitude with that suavity which is a distinguishing merit of a Florentine crowd." Mrs. Trollope (on such points we may surely implicitly trust a lady's criticism) describes the Prince de Carignano as "a portly, personable man, past middle life, with a pleasant countenance and a fresh ready smile, which tallies well with the honest and unassuming character he has always borne" (p. 215); and the character indicated by such a countenance is exactly what will be for some time wanted in Italy, where he and his royal kinsman will have difficult cards to play, and will have need of all their cheerfulness and all their frankness, to enable them to clear themselves a way amid all the difficulties with which the shameless tortuousness of the French policy has beset, and will still, while it can, beset their path.

Once, and but once, our authoress touches on the feelings with which the revolution of which she is writing is regarded in England. Her observation is as true as if she were a resident among us, instead of among the newly-delivered Florentines. "One of the most fruitful sources of that strong sympathy which is just now manifested by all classes in England for the fortunes of Central Italy is the newly-proclaimed liberty of conscience which has been so eagerly received by the daily-increasing congregation of the Italian Evangelical Church, both in Tuscany and in the Romagna." We do not doubt that she is right in this conclusion. We have too strong a feeling of gratitude to that principle to which we ourselves owe all our greatness as a nation not to wish to see every other country in possession of it too; and if liberty of conscience and the spiritual dominion of the Pope be found incompatible the blame is not on us; nor need we shrink from proclaiming our adherence to the great principle, because it

cannot be established but at the expense of an authority which we ourselves have long shaken off. Mrs. Trollope, very wisely, refrains from going deeply into such questions; showing her judgment equally by her silence in some matters as by her eloquence in others. Altogether she has put forth a most interesting volume, which none can read without entertainment, and few without instruction.

#### THE CLOISTER AND THE HEARTH.\*

SOME four or five years ago, Mr. Charles Reade, who, up to that time had only been known as the author of one or two very commonplace tales, suddenly burst upon the novel-reading world with a romance of very remarkable originality and power. He laid the principal scenes in the most remote region of the globe, and yet so vivid were the pictures that he drew of a distant country, and of a class which, though reared among ourselves, is more unknown to people of what is generally called education and refinement than the inhabitants of the most uncivilized island of the South Seas, that few could be persuaded that he had not himself been a visitor of the Antipodes, and that the scenes he portrayed were not in fact drawn from the recollections of his own experience. The impression which "It's Never too late to Mend" gave of the abilities of its author was certainly a very strong one. Unhappily the author showed in its pages that he had his full share of that irritability which is affirmed to be so often an accompaniment of great talents; and there are passages in it which gave a handle for the violent attacks which were made on it in some quarters; while the fierceness with which he resented criticism, and one or two quarrels which he had with his publishers, showed that on any provocation, whether great or little, his hand was against everybody, and naturally disposed every one, in retaliation, to turn their hands against him.

These events, however, are now of old date; and we should hardly refer to them here at all, were it not that we think they may serve to account, in some degree, for the disfavour with which the work whose title is at the head of this article has been received,—a disfavour that undoubtedly is not deserved by the book itself; which, though not without its peculiar faults, is in every respect a very remarkable one in respect of the talent displayed in it. In fact, its faults are of the most trivial kind—its merits are of a high order.

Its faults are chiefly an affectation, which shows itself even in the adoption of a novel manner of printing. If it is intended to imply that the speaker is whispering, his whisper is printed in letters half the usual size. Is he giving vent to an assertion either positive in matter or loud in manner, the type is swelled to a corresponding fulness of size, while anything particularly impressive or horrid is printed in actual capitals. And this affectation naturally extends itself at times to the composition. The author seems to labour after an imitation of Sterne, an example than which few are more likely to deceive as *vitiis imitabile*. And because Sterne broke up whole pages in dialogues of sentences of two words, Mr. Reade treats us to similar passages. Sterne was no doubt a man of the richest humour and the keenest wit, but we doubt whether either quality was most especially conspicuous in the passages to which we allude, such as—

"Shall I go on?"

"No."

And we doubt whether Mr. Reade will tempt other writers to follow his model by such bits as this:—

"Jump over him."

"The door is too low."

"March through him."

"The man is too thick."

"What is the coil?" inquired a mumbling voice from the interior; apprentice with his mouth full.

"We want to get into your shop."

"What for, in heaven's name?!!!"

"Shorn: lazy bones!" (I. 283).

"What is't? the blood?"

"Nay."

"The stomach?"

"Nay."

"The liver?"

"Nay."

"The foul fiend?"

"Nay."

"What then?"

"Love. (III. 21.)"

Yet that an able man should condescend to such petty stage tricks does not proceed wholly from affectation, but equally, if not more, from his not having a fitting sense of the dignity of his art. We might think that he had forgotten the last half century. Fifty years ago novel writing had long been at a very low ebb. It would hardly be too much to say that the novel had been invented by Fielding, and with him and Smollett it seemed to have died. From his time to that of Walter Scott scarcely one writer arose of the slightest ability in that line; and in the dearth of real talent readers were content to yawn over the ponderous volumes of Grandison and Clarissa, or to sip over the inanities of "Evelina" and "Cecilia." "Tristram Shandy" and the "Vicar of Wakefield" shed the only beams of light over the desert of dulness which overspread the greater part of the reign of George III. But the Regency produced "Waverley" and its wondrous series of followers; and their great author, who, surpassing Cervantes and Smollett in humour, Fielding and Voltaire in wit, and all four in his penetration into and his life-like delineation of human character, by one effort raised the novel to a dignity with which no one before his time had ever dreamed of investing it; and, while he established the claim of the novelist to the very highest rank in literature beside the dramatist and the poet, did, by so doing, the most part stimulate other labourers in the same field to keep their art, as he

\* The Cloister and the Hearth: a Tale of the Middle Ages. By Charles Reade, author of "It's Never too late to Mend," "Christie Johnson," &c. London: Trübner & Co.



as they could, on the high level to which he had raised it. The consequence has been, that in England a very high school of novel has grown up, which can hardly be adequately appreciated unless it be compared with those works which have been produced during the same period in France and Germany. That some writers have been led by the feeling which we have mentioned to efforts beyond their strength, is undeniable; but the result of their united exertions has been creditable to themselves and to the nation, and it is pleasing to recollect that the most brilliant of Scott's successors are still in their prime. The excellence of Mr. Thackeray seems unapproachable at the present day; but that, with the exception of him, Mr. Reade need hardly fear a comparison with any of his contemporaries, is abundantly proved by the tale before us.

He has taken for his foundation a slight basis of historical fact, from which his preface seems to claim a right to deviate whenever necessity should require. It was hardly requisite to put forth such a claim, as the rule might have been taken to be pretty well established; and the claim would be valueless unless the author himself were to be the judge of the necessity—a privilege which may also be willingly conceded to him. We are bound, likewise, to admit that, with one exception, to which we shall again allude hereafter, the right has not been abused nor misused in this instance. The subject is the birth of Erasmus, as, following a pedantic fashion of those days, the Dutchman Gerard chose to call himself. Gerard, in Dutch, it would seem, meant lovely or amiable; accordingly it was first Latinized into Desiderius, and then Grecized into Erasmus; just as the old Welsh heretic Morgan changed his family name into Pelagius. Strict history tells us that Gerard, the father, was the youngest of the ten children of his parents, and is silent about any betrothal of him and Margaret; equally silent about his having been destined for the Church till she had borne him a girl and was promising him other offspring, when his parents, who had no objection to his having a mistress, but were horror-stricken at her proving a prolific one, thought it high time to arrest such proceedings by transferring him to the cloister. These incidents are legitimately softened down in the novel, only that the representing Gerard as originally intended for the Church is a little out of character with the vigorous recklessness of his exploits when escaping from the clutches of Ghysbrecht, and afterwards when burning the robbers alive in their own fortress. There is, perhaps, nothing contrary either to nature or precedent in a youth of twenty falling in love with a pretty face, even if he may be intended for a profession which, in the unhappy asceticism of some sects, is bound to look on all faces with indifference; but it jars somewhat upon our sense of the fitness of things to imagine a youth trained on parchments for the retirement of the cloister, start forth a bravo at all points, ready alike with sword, bludgeon, and firebrand, and as little inclined to mince matters with any one who might stop his way, as the most marauding baron, or the fiercest lanzknecht on the banks of the Rhine.

With this single exception, however, the tale is admirably conceived and vigorously told. The course of true love never ran with a more proverb-like roughness than in the case of Gerard and Margaret. Every person and every circumstance put an additional stone of the most painful angularity to make the way of the travellers on that path difficult; and yet, in a great degree, they were all overcome. Gerard's parents forbade the love. It went on (that may be taken as a matter of course in a novel) only the more vigorously for their resistance. A burgomaster, by name Ghysbrecht, not so much because he loved Gerard's father, as because he hated every one who seemed likely to be happy, threw him into prison. When he was abroad, his envious brothers, by a cunningly forged letter, caused him to believe that his mistress was dead. He flew in his father's face, figuratively,—in Ghysbrecht's, practically, for he nearly knocked his brains out with a cudgel; and though, in despair at the intelligence conveyed to him by the forged letter, he took full orders, yet, on his return to his native land, he again meets Margaret, and, though they can no longer be all that they had hoped to be to one another, they enjoy the sweets of affectionate companionship till they are both removed by death, as history records that, in fact, they were removed.

Of course a *nodus* so dignus *vindice* is not disentangled without a *Deus*, who on this occasion is the well-known artist, Margaret Von Eyck. She countenances the clandestine meetings of the lovers; sanctions their betrothal, and, indeed, so far assists all their designs, that she is never wanting when those sinews of love as well as war, gold pieces, are required. Yet at first her assistance produces the lovers no especial good fortune. Gerard is forced to flee from Holland, and the greater part of the work is occupied with his adventures in foreign lands. Besides, perhaps we might say, in consequence of, his ecclesiastical destination, he is a skilful calligrapher, an exquisite illuminator, with a desire to be an artist of a still higher class, a painter; and, with a view to acquiring skill in that land of taste and genius, he directs his steps towards Italy, travelling on foot. The German roads were not very safe travelling in the middle ages; but he thought of "Cantabit vacuus," and trudged boldly on, till he found that no purse could be so empty, provided it were a purse at all, as not to have charms for a baron on the German border. One of these worthies overtakes him, and strips him of the few coins he still had left of Madame Van Eyck's bounty; and then he falls in with a strange succession of adventures.

First of all he picks up for a comrade, Denys, a Burgundian soldier, who is always drunk, or rather is always drinking, and of course swearing. Still, clerical student though he be, Gerard makes fast friends with him, picks comfort out of his favourite piece of theology, "Le diable est mort," which is the staple of his conversation, at least of all that Mr. Reade thinks it decent to report. And in the society of Denys he meets many strange adventures; with bears, with landladies, with robbers, sometimes even with courts of justice; for, having, when attacked by a troop of assassins in a wayside hostel, frightened the rest by daubing with phosphorus one of the gang whom he and Denys had slain, he was near being burnt for a sorcerer. Denys, however, is presently carried off by his Burgundian comrades, to join the Duke's forces in the Netherlands, and Gerard falls in with stranger friends still. He is picked up by a vagabond, half beggar

half thief, known to him as Cul de Jatte, and to every one else by a different name, having more aliases than ever were heard of at the Old Bailey, a compound something between the lieutenant in "Gil Blas," and Bamfylde Moore Carew. Between Cul de Jatte and Gerard there might have been supposed to be an irreconcilable difference. Gerard holds fast by his honesty; Cul de Jatte, though he knows but little of that quality by report, and nothing at all by personal experience, wholly disbelieves in its proverbial good policy. Yet between these two a partnership is formed on the basis of Gerard's doing the honest business and Cul de Jatte taking the roguery on himself. Gerard paints signs or writes letters; presently he gets a psaltery, and plays to those who are fond of music; Cul de Jatte makes away with his legs and arms, or establishes a fever or a cancer; and between them they pick up enough to carry on the war. Cul de Jatte's faith in the superiority of his own practice to that of Gerard's begins to be shaken, since there is no doubt that while they both earn about the same number of batzen, the cudgellings and the bites of house-dogs fall exclusively to his share. And he is thinking seriously of reforming his ways, when justice lays hands on him and separates him from his honest partner, who continues his walk to Italy by himself, meeting with many ups and downs till he gets to Rome; his fortune still being of a mingled kind; he is nearly shipwrecked, but he saves the life of a child, and binds his mother to him for ever; he is reduced to paint playing-cards to keep him from starving, but at last he gets recommended to the celebrated Francesco Colonna, one of the most learned men in Italy, at a time when Italy was the most learned country in Europe. Colonna was also a Dominican friar, but his friar's hood covered as sceptical a head as doubted in all Christendom. However, sceptic or Christian, Colonna introduces Gerard to Bessarion. Bessarion gets him work from the Pope; and so he rose and rose, till he fell in with a noble lady, one of the true *sangre azul*, the Princess Clælia Cesarini. She falls in love with him, and sends a bravo to murder him for not returning her passion; but the intended assassin proves to be the father of the child whom he had saved from shipwreck. The story now hastens (though still through a long volume) to its end. The princess becomes a penitent, and Gerard a Dominican friar, known as Brother Clement. He gets himself a name in Rome as a preacher; but, as the stricken hart returns to his original haunts to die, so does he return to Holland, where he finds Margaret is not dead, and she recognizes her child's father in the celebrated Confessor. He is more maddened than comforted at finding her alive, quarrels with his family, disowns the world, and becomes a hermit, from which retirement he is dragged by Margaret. He gets preferment and she shares with him the cares which it brings with it.

"The general tenor (of their lives) was now peace, piety, the mild content that lasts; not the fierce bliss ever on tiptoe to depart, and, above all, Christian charity. On this sacred ground these two true lovers met with an uniformity and a kindness of sentiment which went far to soothe the wound in their own hearts. To pity the same bereaved; to hunt in couples all the ills in Goreda, and contrive and scheme together to remedy all that were remediable; to use the rare insight into troubled hearts which their own troubles had given them, and to use it to make others happier than themselves; this was their daily practice. And in this blessed cause their passion for one another cooled a little, but their affection increased. From the time that Margaret entered heart and soul into Gerard's pious charities, that affection purged itself of all mortal dross; and, as it had now long outlived scandal and misapprehension, one would have thought that so bright an example of pure, self-denying affection was to remain long before the world, to show men how nearly religious faith, even when not quite reasonable, and religious charity, which is always reasonable, could raise two true lovers' hearts to the loving hearts of the angels of heaven. But the great Disposer of events ordered otherwise."

Margaret catches the plague, and dies, though not before she had been a witness of the promise of exceeding genius given by him who was to be Erasmus. Soon Gerard died too; and, monk though he was, there was found under his horsehair shirt "a long, thick tress of auburn hair," which, for aught that any one could tell, might have been "the relic of a saint," was buried with him in his grave. We, who judge as human beings and not as monks, feel that it must have been a lock from the tresses of Margaret.

We have given a brief outline of this remarkable tale. A much fuller sketch would have been inadequate to do justice to it. We look upon it, despite many faults, as a work of real genius, showing clearly that the author has the power, if he have the will, to achieve much better things, and to win himself a high and enduring reputation in the line which he has chosen.

#### THE LITERARY WOMEN OF ENGLAND.\*

Mrs. WILLIAMS in this agreeable volume has, to a certain degree, supplied a want which she had herself observed and felt in common with the generality of English readers, namely, an account of the female writers of England. She had been employed in composing a critical and biographical essay on Mrs. Hemans; and this work led her to contemplate the publication of a history of such female English writers whether in prose or verse, who lived before the year 1700; but from that period down to the present time, of the poetesses only. We are not at all surprised that she did not venture on giving any history, however concise, of the female prose writers who have since lived, or are now living. The number of ladies who now subsist mainly or entirely by the fruits of their pen, is enormous. Go into the dome-room in the British Museum; the chances are that you will see more ladies than gentlemen there, hard at work copying, extracting, or reading. And theirs is no trifling, trumpery business; not the indulgence of mere Della-cruscan frivolity; they are, for the most part, laboriously, earnestly performing what requires no little physical toil and great intellectual ability. Women now aspire to an equality with men; formerly they were contented with the lower spheres of literary work, with sonnets, and novels, and fugitive pieces—properly so called. Now they write histories, and criticize classical books, and they even furnish pungent political articles to the daily press. Not that they have given up their

\* The Literary Women of England. By Jane Williams. Saunders & Otley. Pp. 564.



claim to novel writing; very much otherwise; "Jane Eyre" and "Adam Bede," the products of women, are superior in point of terrible fidelity to nature, in energy, and poetic sentiment, to any of the more modern novels. Mrs. Somerville has fully established the claim of women to be regarded as capable of high philosophical attainments, which they can express in the dignity of philosophical language. Even the crabbed science of political economy has been made engaging by the pen of Mrs. Marcet. History is well represented by Miss Martineau, Miss Strickland, and Mrs. Freer. In religious, as distinct from theological, literature, women are pre-eminent; indeed, men have little or nothing to set in balance against the productions of Miss Sinclair, Miss Sewell, and Miss Marsh. Some of the best and most popular songs in the language were written by women; for instance, "Auld Robin Gray," and "My Mother bids me bind my hair," which was written by the wife of John Hunter, the famous surgeon; while the best song writer of the present day, beyond all comparison, is another lady, Mrs. Norton. Formerly, when modern continental literature was unknown, a knowledge of Latin and Greek was common enough with our English ladies; in modern days those ancient languages have been superseded by the easier accomplishment of French, Italian, and German; but the late Mrs. H. Coleridge, daughter of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, was an accomplished Greek scholar, and Mrs. Hemans translated odes of Horace with beauty and truth. Perhaps there is no more cheering and hopeful sign of improvement in modern society than is furnished by the superior attainments of women. They are not only intellectually and morally superior to the women of preceding generations, but they exhibit a social activity which is as admirable as it is remarkable. Women now take considerable share in works of public importance. The services of Miss Nightingale in the Crimean war can never be too highly estimated or extolled; and the book which she has since published on domestic economy shows a really great mind, for it bespeaks a mind which is great enough to think little things worthy of its care, if they can be made to minister to the happiness and blessing of others. Ladies now take part in societies, the object of which is to reclaim the wretched of their own sex; this argues a noble spirit, and a conscious elevation and purity of heart which can well afford to despise the sneers and insinuations of the worthless.

Mrs. Williams, as we have already mentioned, originally wrote only an essay on Mrs. Hemans; and though the work ultimately expanded into its present dimensions, yet it is plain that the first love of our author continued to be the strongest, her account of Mrs. Hemans being much fuller and more critical than that which she has furnished of any other of her heroines. The accounts, indeed, which she has given of some are so exceedingly brief, as to amount to little more than a narrative of their birth and death. But short as these accounts are, we regret to say that they are often very painful. One cannot read without emotion that Mary Robinson "died in poverty at a cottage on Englefield Green." She had been the companion and victim of royal profligacy; and though nothing is to be said in defence of dishonour, yet surely a tear is not misplaced when shed over the ashes of one so exceeding fair, and so gifted with intellectual power, yet so foully and cruelly treated. It is remarkable, indeed, that these literary heroines so often led lives of distress; Mrs. Hemans, the great idol of our author, married an unfeeling and heartless scoundrel, who deliberately and brutally forsook her, and left her with her children to fight her way through the world as she could. She had, indeed, a brave and noble spirit, animated and exalted by sincere and solemn devotion; but who may presume to conjecture how deep were the woes, and how bitter and cutting were the agonies, which incessantly tortured that pure and bright and angelic soul? Charlotte Smith married a brainless spendthrift, who, after leading her a life of perpetual distress, died in gaol, and left her, too, to provide for herself as she best might. She formed a marked contrast to Mrs. Hemans, inasmuch as she had not been brought up in religious habits, and never learnt them; and so the only real remedy of adversity and distress was to her denied. Is she not, on this account, the more worthy of commiseration?

How painful it is to read of the sweet, cheerful, graceful, and ingenious L. E. L., that "the wish to be admired and loved being with her a predominant motive, and the pleasure of pleasing the keenest of her enjoyments, slander shocked her to the utmost, as a direct contravention of her most intense desires. It embittered the world to her, and rendered life distasteful; all her small remainder of happiness being concentrated in public applause, and the commendation of her dearest friends" (p. 510). And so she left England and went to Africa, to escape the venom of slander; how she fared in that desolate and distant land, Mrs. Williams informs us (*ibid.*), "On Monday, October 15, 1838, she was found senseless and dying on the floor of her bedchamber, and immediately afterwards expired. An empty phial, which had contained prussic acid, was grasped in her hand!" It has been said, and, we fear, with too much justice, that Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" is one of the saddest works in literature; and, indeed, the trade of the poet has too commonly been but a beggarly trade. It is one of the great and distinguishing merits of Johnson himself, that, poor as he was, he yet asserted and maintained the dignity of literature, and in spite of his dirty coat and uncouth manners, shouldered his way, by dint of intellectual strength and moral ascendancy, into the drawing-rooms of the wealthy, the powerful, and the noble. Yet his own life was, for the most part, a life of hardship, distress, and want, courageously endured for fifty years. Could we get at the real history of the poetesses, should we hear a less distressing story? Mrs. Carter lived in opulence, though not an opulence earned by her writings. Hannah More was praised and rewarded liberally and abundantly, yet she had her trials; and, like L. E. L., had to steel herself against the dagger of calumny. How may we estimate the intensity of suffering, which so highly gifted and pure a mind must have undergone?

Mrs. Williams, as we have said, professes to give an account of the poetesses only, from the year 1700. But how came she to omit all mention of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu? We do not claim for her a high niche in the temple of Apollo. She was a poet after the fashion and under the tuition of Pope, who libelled her, and was libelled in turn by her ladyship. Both combatants showed

themselves sternly and thoroughly in earnest in this rather too common species of literary employment. But the mention of Lady Mary reminds us of one peculiar excellence in our English female writers: they are, with very few exceptions, irreproachably pure in thought. Lady Montagu is unquestionably an exception; nor do we wish to urge any sort of excuse for her. Yet the instances of coarseness in her writings are so few, as not to amount to a heavy charge. In the great and essential quality of purity of thought, English authoresses form a very gratifying contrast with foreign female writers. The pruriency of Madame Cottin or Madame du Deffand is unknown to them; and the influence of female literature in England has consequently been almost without exception beneficial.

Mrs. Williams does not profess to give specimens of the poetry of those of whom she gives an account, though she does so occasionally. We are never sorry to see a re-print of Dryden's monody on Anne Killigrew, yet we confess our inability to explain the reason for the ode being printed *in extenso* by our author. She has also printed Ben Jonson's famous epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke; and she adds a criticism on it, which we quote, because we think it just and sound. The lines are well known:—

"Underneath this sable hearse," &c.

She says of them: "Of these twelve lines, it may be observed that the two last make a false assertion, for Lady Pembroke was *not*, in any sense, 'the subject of all verse.' The third line simply recounts it as a privilege that she was 'Sidney's sister;' but the fact that she was 'Pembroke's mother,' tended neither to her happiness when living nor to her honour when dead. The reason assigned, in the six last lines, why no 'marble piles' should be raised to her name, is extravagantly absurd; and the real merit of the epitaph consists exclusively in the fourth, fifth, and sixth lines, which are of exquisite beauty:—

"'Death, ere thou hast killed another,  
Fair, and learn'd, and good as she,  
Time shall throw a dart at thee.'—p. 77.

We think this disparaging criticism perfectly just on a composition which has certainly gained reputation, out of all proportion to its deserts.

Mrs. Hutchinson's life of her husband is a singularly beautiful book; one of the gems of our literature; but we hardly know by what principle of selection or quotation Mrs. Williams was guided, when she made so large an extract from the work as she has done (pp. 95-103). It is, indeed, in the matter of quotation that we think Mrs. Williams might have improved her very pleasant book.

Charles Lamb used to speak with enthusiastic delight of the Life of the Duke of Newcastle, by his wife Margaret; and Charles Lamb was a man of so very elegant a mind, and, at the same time, so astute a critic, and in general of so clear and admirable a judgment, that we should always feel disposed to question the soundness of our own judgment when we found it to be in opposition to his. But for the life of us we never could see what the merit of Margaret's biography is. She was devotedly attached to her husband, and thought that no man ever was so knightly, generous, and noble-hearted as he was; and she deserves all praise for her conjugal affection. But her book does seem to us, who cannot look at it through the spectacles of Charles Lamb, to be arrant twaddle. The duchess was a writer of marvellous fecundity; an alarming list of her productions is given (p. 106). Her husband paid her off in her own coin, by publishing, three years after her death, "a folio volume, containing letters and poems in honour of the incomparable princess, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle" (p. 106). We believe that, with the exception of the life of her husband, which Charles Lamb so chivalrously rescued from oblivion, all her ladyship's voluminous works have long since been conveyed away,—

"In vicos vendentes thus et odores,  
Et piper, et quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis."

(To be continued.)

#### MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

*Broad Shadows on Life's Pathway.* Seeley & Co.—There is a good deal in this little story that is very painful to read, as there must necessarily be in every narrative which is true to nature, and does not seek to deny or hide the possibility of events occurring which sadden and "shadow" life. But the author has striven to do more than draw a picture which should be recognized as truthful and real: she (for there is much internal evidence in the book that the writer is a lady) has shown in a very touching and impressive manner that there is but one means of alleviating the anguish of the heart, and an old, old lesson is enforced with power and pathos that could scarcely fail to arrest the attention of the most desultory reader. The purpose of the narrative being to convey this moral, and to remove the difficulties which those who are labouring under mental affliction, and more especially that form of it caused by distressing bereavements, experience in receiving it fully, and acknowledging that all events are ruled and directed wisely,—it is manifest that the accessories of plot and scenery are not of any great consequence. Nevertheless, the writer has displayed great ingenuity in the construction of her plot, and, regarded simply as a tale, "*Broad Shadows*" would be deserving of cordial praise. Part of the action takes place in India, and a great share of it is engrossed with the struggles and trials of a dressmaker's life. Treated as a work designed to teach what even the most disciplined are apt to forget when the shadows fall across the path, the volume is entitled to still higher commendation. It is intended to be useful, and we do not doubt that the writer has accomplished her end, though the results of her labour may never come to her knowledge.

*The Lady's Guide to the Ordering of her Household and the Economy of the Dinner Table.* By a Lady. Smith, Elder, & Co.—This is a volume of advice concerning the management of cooks and cooking, the regulation of a dinner table, the choice of viands, and kindred subjects. The book is intended for those who have not less than the "modest" income, as the writer says, of from one to



two thousand a year—as much more as you like—consequently we warn humble folks with a less than “modest” income, to keep clear of this manual. The writer’s style—and of course no one looks for a good style in a cookery book—is, if we may say so without offence, silly-womanish; and when she talks of “culinary incompetency” and “eschewing” a “barbarism,” and tells us loftily that she does not approve of “ladies experimenting (sic) in the kitchen,” we have at once a gauge of the “lady’s” literary and mental qualifications. She is, in fact, a teacher who is likely to puzzle and confuse her pupils, although possibly she may give them a high respect for her station in life. The shadow of Mrs. Glasse need not quake at the intrusion of this stranger—she is not likely to become a favourite even in the sublime regions towards which her aspirations are directed.

*Lavinia.* By the Author of “Lorenzo Benoni,” and “Doctor Antonio.” A New Edition. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 65, Cornhill.—A work that has been already favourably received by the public, and requires no further notice beyond the statement of the fact that a new and cheaper edition of it is now published.

**BOOKS RECEIVED.**—*Thoughts and Hints on Education.* By George Rumsey, LL.D., Principal of Pembroke College, Fortescue House, Twickenham, London. Proposed Emendation of the Text of Shakespeare’s Plays. With confirmatory and illustrative passages from the Poet’s works, and those of his contemporaries. By Swinfen Jervis. Second Edition, revised and corrected. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. *Words of Comfort*, for parents bereaved of little children. Edited by William Logan, author of “The Moral Statistics of Glasgow.” With an introduction by the Rev. William Anderson, LL.D., Glasgow. London: James Nisbet & Co., 21, Berners-street. *Experiences of an English Sister of Mercy.* By Margaret Goodman. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 65, Cornhill. *Narrative of a remarkable Transaction in the early Life of John Wesley.* From an original manuscript in his own handwriting, never before published. Second Edition. To which is added a review of the work, by the late Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A. London: John Russell Smith, 36, Soho-square.

### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Messrs. Hurst & Blackett announce for publication next week Miss Bremer’s new work, “Travels in the Holy Land,” translated by Mary Howitt. The “Memoirs of Queen Hortense,” mother of Napoleon III., will be published in December. A new novel, entitled “The Castleford Case,” by Frances Browne, author of “My Share of the World,” is also announced as just ready by Messrs. Hurst & Blackett.

A small work on the “History of Infantry” is shortly to issue from the press of Messrs. Quaritch, of Piccadilly, so famous for producing so little, and for that little being so refined and good. The author is Lieut. Stuart, of Her Majesty’s Bengal army, one of the many officers whose occupation, for a time at least, is gone. The subject will be treated with especial reference to modern tactics, the new sciences necessarily called into action by the introduction of arms of precision. Although not a ponderous tome, Captain Stuart’s volume will treat of its subject “from the earliest period to the present time,” as the time-honoured phrase ran when publishers were called booksellers, and authors were described as ingenious. We may therefore possibly be favoured with particulars, professional and domestic, from the tenth legion that could do anything, down to our own modern tenth, which is prepared to do anything but dancing.

The tenth “Tract for Priests and Laymen” will be on “The Prophets of the Old Testament,” and is written by Sir Edward Strachey.

Messrs. Marlborough’s great Christmas book is by Miss Meteyard (“Silverpen,” a *nom du plume* furnished for the writer by the late Douglas Jerrold) about “Hallowed Spots of Ancient London.” The work is to be beautifully illustrated.

A new translation of the “Koran” is announced by Messrs. Williams & Norgate. The Rev. J. M. Rodwell, Rector of St. Ethelburga, Bishopgate, is the translator, which is to be enriched with a preface and notes.

Messrs. Blackwood & Sons are about to produce a cheap edition of George Eliot’s “Silas Marner, the Weaver of Raveloe.”

Mr. John Hollingshead is about to produce a new volume, to be published by Messrs. Groombridge. It is to be an extension of the papers which appeared in the pages of *All the Year Round*, under the title of “Underground London.”

A new work on Theology is in preparation by Professor Godwin, on “Christian Faith,” which is to form one of the series of the “Congregational Lectures” to be published by Messrs. Jackson, Walford, & Co.

At one of Messrs. Puttick & Simpson’s literary sales during the past week, some of the lots fetched unusually high prices. One in particular, Lot 1,428, “*Virginia*” (Sonnet in praise of the Virgin Mary), 12mo., 1632, which was in the sale of Mr. Bright’s library in 1844, when it produced £6. 6s., now realized £23. 10s. A copy of Hoare’s “History of Modern Wiltshire,” six vols., sold for £25. 10s.; Lot 920, Gould’s “Birds of Europe,” five vols., morocco, £94; and Lot 921, Gould’s “Birds of Australia,” seven vols. morocco, went for £96.

It is said that an inhabitant of a town in Silesia, not far from Breslau, has just found among the papers of his family a collection of 270 letters or orders, addressed by Frederick the Great, in the ten years from 1740 to 1750, to Generals de Borek and de Schultze, who commanded his troops in Silesia. The letters and orders are in the handwriting of the king’s secretaries, but all are signed by his Majesty, and were no doubt dictated by him. They are said to be of considerable historical interest.

The remains of Rouget de Lisle, the author of “The Marseillaise,” were translated a few days ago from the old to the new Cemetery of Choisy-le-Roi. M. Perrotin, Béranger’s literary executor, and the publisher of his works, superintended the exhumation and removal. The following inscription is engraved on the tomb:—“Ici repose Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle, né à Lons-le-Saulmer en 1760, mort à Choisy-le-Roi en 1836. Quand la Révolution Française, 1792 eut à combattre les Rois, il lui donna pour vaincre le Chant de la Marseillaise.”

The Paris papers make mention of a new work by M. Jules Janin, entitled “La Fin d’un Monde et du neveu de Rameau.” The heroine is the notorious “Marquise de Pompadour,” a character such as Janin delights in describing, and which he is appropriately employed in eulogizing.

M. Vallet de Virville, professor at Chartres, has written a work, of which the first volume is now published. It is devoted to a description of the reign and times of Charles VII. of France. The work is said to be based upon authorities, perfectly new to the public.

A new edition of the works of Benjamin Constant has been recently published in Paris. It is edited by M. Edward Laboulaye, Member of the Institute; is illustrated by notes, and with an introduction, containing a complete *exposé* of Constant’s political philosophy.

The German papers are much occupied with Mr. Buckle’s last volume on “The History of Civilization.”

Amongst the recent works of Parisian light literature is a book entitled “The Romance of an Ugly Woman,” by M. Camille Henri, which has excited great attention, from the cleverness and excellent feeling it exhibits in the treatment of a difficult subject.

### LIST OF NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

FROM NOVEMBER 22ND TO NOVEMBER 28TH.

- Archbold’s Banking. Second edition. 15s. Simpkin.  
Arnold’s Henry’s First Latin Book. 12mo. cloth. New edition. 3s. Rivingtons.  
Anley (Charlotte). *Earlswood*. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 5s. Hatchard.  
Athenæum. A Poem. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 6s. Moxon.  
Babes in the Basket. 18mo. cloth. 1s. Morgan.  
Bacon (Rev. H. B.). *Lectures for the Sick*. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 2s. 6d. Hatchard.  
Beever (Rev. W. Holt). *Notes on Fields and Cattle*. 8s. 6d. Chapman & Hall.  
Booker (E.). *Meditations in Prose and Verse*. 18mo. cloth. 1s. 6d. Aylott.  
Blunt’s Plain Sermons. Third series. Crown 8vo. cloth. 7s. 6d. Murray.  
Blunt’s Christian Church. First Three Centuries. Third edition. Crown 8vo. cloth. 7s. 6d. Murray.  
Casalis (Rev. E.). *The Basutos*. Post 8vo. cloth. 6s. Nisbet.  
Coleman (T.). *The English Confessors after the Reformation to the Days of the Commonwealth*. 4s. 6d. J. Snow.  
Constance and Edith. By a Clergyman’s Wife. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 2s. 6d. Hatchard.  
Cunningham (Peter). *Walpole’s Correspondence*. Vol. IX. 8vo. cloth. 9s. Bohn.  
Dickens (Charles). *Little Dorrit*. Cheap edition. Crown 8vo. cloth. 5s. Chapman & Hall.  
Barnaby Rudge. Vol. II. Original Illustrations. Post 8vo. cloth. 7s. 6d. Chapman & Hall.  
Drake (Rev. W. H.). *Sermons and Literary Remains of the Rev. R. G. Dangerfield*. 12s. 6d. Simpkin.  
Early Egyptian History for the Young. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 5s. Macmillan.  
Facsimiles of Certain Portions of the Gospel of St. Matthew and of the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude. Folio. Sewed. £1. 11s. 6d. Trübner.  
Friswell (H.). *Out and About*. Second edition. Fcap. 8s. 6d. Groombridge.  
Gray (Ann Thomson). *The Twin Pupils*. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 5s. Hatchard.  
Gray (Mrs. H.). *History of Rome*. Vol. I.—Republic. Vol. II.—Emperors. 12mo. cloth. 6s. Hatchard.  
Hardwicke (C. A.). *History of the Christian Church*. Crown 8vo. cloth. 10s. 6d. Macmillan.  
Handbook of Emergencies and Accidents. 12mo. cloth. 1s. Cassell.  
Hatty and Marcus. 18mo. cloth. 1s. J. Morgan.  
Halliwell (J. O.). *Rambler in Western Cornwall*. Fcap. 4to. cloth. 7s. 6d. J. R. Smith.  
Heaven Our Home. 3s. 6d. Simpkin.  
Herschel (Sir John). *The Telescope*. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 3s. 6d. Longman.  
How (Rev. W. W.). *Twenty-four Practical Sermons*. 12mo. cloth. 2s. J. Morgan.  
The Canticles. Printed for Chanting, with Chants. 4to. cloth. 1s. 6d. J. Morgan.  
Horry (S. C.). *New Bankruptcy and Insolvent Act*. 1s. 6d. Lea.  
Jemmett (C. E.). *Bankruptcy Acts, Orders, &c.* 12mo. cloth. 10s. 6d. Sweet.  
Jones’s Animal Kingdom. Third edition. £1. 11s. 6d. Van Voorst.  
Kavanagh (Julia). *French Women of Letters*. 2 vols. Post 8vo. cloth. £1. 1s. Hurst & Blackett.  
Lawson (Dr. G.). *The Life and Times of*. Crown 8vo. cloth. 7s. 6d. Hamilton.  
Lowndes’ Bibliographer’s Manual. 12mo. cloth. 3s. 6d. Bohn.
- Lytton (Sir Bulwer). *Zanoni*. Vol. II. Crown 8vo. cloth. 5s. Blackwood.  
Maasson (Gustave). *A Class-Book of French Literature*. 4s. 6d. A. & C. Black.  
Macrory (E.). *A Few Notes on the Temple Organ*. Second edition. Square cloth. 3s. 6d. Bell & Daldy.  
Mather (C.). *Wonders of the Invisible World*. Fcap. cloth. 5s. J. R. Smith.  
Macduff (Rev. J. R.). *Sunsets on Hebrew Mountains*. Post 8vo. cloth. 6s. 6d. Nisbet.  
Family Prayers. New edition. Crown 8vo. cloth. 3s. 6d. Nisbet.  
Maggie of the Pines. 18mo. cloth. 1s. J. Morgan.  
Meet for Heaven. By author of “Heaven Our Home.” Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 3s. 6d. Simpkin.  
Miles (H. D.). *The Book of Field Sports*. 4to. 13s. 6d. Lea.  
Moke (H. G.) and Alice Wilmer. *Belgian Episodes; Historical, Legendary, and Contemporary*. 10s. 6d. J. Hogg.  
Orange Seed. 18mo. cloth. 1s. J. Morgan.  
Pardoe (Miss). *The Rival Beauties*. (Parlour Library, Vol. 254). 12mo. boards. 2s. C. H. Clarke.  
Punch’s Pocket Book. 2s. 6d. Bradbury & Evans.  
Robinson Crusoe. Illustrated by Zenecker. 5s. Griffin & Co.  
Illustrated by Wehnert. Crown 8vo. cloth. 7s. 6d. Bell & Daldy.  
Robinson (W. L.). *The Pronouncing Reading Book*. 12mo. cloth. 3s. Longman.  
Robins (Sanderson). *Defence of the Faith*. Part I. 8vo. cloth. 7s. 6d. Longman.  
Roberts (Brown H. E.). *History of Colonial Empire of Great Britain*. Post 8vo. cloth. 7s. Longman.  
Shaw’s Diary. 8vo. 1862. 4s. 6d. Shaw.  
Smiles (Samuel). *Lives of the Engineers*. Vols. I. and II. 8vo. cloth. £2. 2s. Murray.  
Smith’s First Latin Dictionary. Crown 8vo. cloth. 3s. 6d. Murray.  
Scribbling Diary. 1s. Blackwood.  
Spiritual Conceits. £1. 1s. Griffith & Farran.  
St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans. Newly Translated. Crown 8vo. cloth. 7s. 6d. Macmillan.  
The Exiled Family and the Restorer. By J. E. L. Square cloth. 3s. 6d. Hamilton.  
The Instructive Picture Book. Vols. I., II., III. Folio boards. 10s. 6d. Hamilton.  
The New Picture Book. Imperial 4to. boards. 10s. 6d. Hamilton.  
The Prince’s Visit. 8vo. cloth. 5s. Trübner.  
The Solicitor’s Pocket Diary, 1862. Roan tuck. 2s. 6d. Groombridge.  
The Old and New Testament Dispensations Compared. Second Edition. 7s. 6d. Hatchard.  
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Tom Brown’s School Days. By an Old Boy. Eighth edition. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 5s. Macmillan.  
Tom Brown at Oxford. 3 vols. Post 8vo. cloth. £1. 11s. 6d. Macmillan.  
Tapernoux (P. E.). *Guide to the French Language*. 3s. 6d. Cassell.  
Trollope (Anthony). *Tales of all Countries*. Post 8vo. cloth. 10s. 6d. Chapman & Hall.  
Underwood (J. W.). *Medical Student’s Guide*. 18mo. cloth. 5s. 6d. Aylott.  
Verses and Translations. By C. S. C. 12mo. cloth. 5s. Bell & Daldy.  
Wellington’s Supplementary Despatches. Vol. VIII. 8vo. cloth. £1. Murray.

### LEARNED SOCIETIES.

#### LIST OF MEETINGS FOR NEXT WEEK.

##### MONDAY.

BRITISH ARCHITECTS—Conduit-street, Hanover-square, at 8 P.M.

##### TUESDAY.

ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY—4, St. Martin’s-place, Trafalgar-square, at 8 P.M. “On the Dyaks or Aborigines of Borneo.” By the Right Rev. the Bishop of Labuan.—“On the Languages of the West Part of North America.” By E. B. Taylor, Esq. “On the Discharge of CIVIL ENGINEERS—25, Great George-street, Westminster, at 8 P.M. “On the Discharge from Under Drainage, and its Effect on the Arterial Channels and Outfalls of the Country.” By Mr. J. Bailey Denton, M. Inst. C.E.

##### WEDNESDAY.

GEOLOGICAL—Burlington House, at 8 P.M. “On the Bracklesham Series of Deposits.” By the Rev. O. Fisher, A.M., F.G.S. SOCIETY OF ARTS—John-street, Adelphi, at 8 P.M. “On the Building for the Internationals Exhibition of 1862.” By Captain William C. Phillpotts, R.E.

##### THURSDAY.

ROYAL—Burlington House, at 8 P.M. Prof. J. Thomson, “On Crystallization and Liquefaction as influenced by Stresses tending to change of Form in the Crystals.” Col. W. J. Smythe “Determination of the Magnetic Declination, Dip, and Force at the Fiji Islands in 1860 and 1861.” Mr. W. H. L. Russell, “On the Calculus of Functions.” Mr. A. Cayley, “On Tschirnhausen’s Transformation.” CHEMICAL—Burlington House, at 8 P.M. Dr. Oppenheim, “On the Camphor of Pepper-mint.” G. C. Foster, Esq., “On Piperine and Hydropiperine Acids.” Prof. Boileau, “On some Physical Properties of Tin-lead Alloys.” LINNEAN—Burlington House, at 8 P.M. J. D. Macdonald, R.N., “On a New Genus of Tricincta, occurring on one of the Bellona Reefs.” J. Couch, Esq., “On the Occurrence of the Crustacean (*Seyllanus arcatus*) in England.” ANTIQUARIES—Somerset House, at 8½ P.M.



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**NOTICE.**

All Communications on Editorial business must, without exception, be addressed to THE EDITOR.

**ADVERTISEMENTS.**

**CRYSTAL PALACE.**—In accordance with general desire, M. BLONDIN will commence a RE-NEWED ENGAGEMENT of a Series of Daily Performances on the TIGHT-ROPE, on MONDAY, December 9th. The encomiums lavished on the occasion of M. Blondin's display of those marvellous feats last summer, render it unnecessary to dilate upon them. For their complete display, a Platform will be erected immediately in front of the great Orchestra, the rope being fixed a few feet above the lowest step of the Orchestra.

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3 MH 62

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# SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON REVIEW.

No. 74.]

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1861.

[Vol. III.]

## EPISODES IN THE HISTORY OF "THE BANK OF DEPOSIT AND NATIONAL ASSURANCE AND INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION."

### No. I.—TRANSACTIONS WITH THE BANK OF LEGHORN.

THE report of Messrs. Harding, Pullein, & Co., the accountants employed by the Committee of Depositors to investigate the affairs of the "Bank of Deposit and National Assurance and Investment Association," may tell the truth with regard to the origin and progress of that enormous swindle, but it does not tell the whole truth. It makes out a very bad case against the promoters and directors; but the reality is far worse than the picture which they have drawn. They state that the Association or Bank had at one time a *bona fide* capital of £20,000. What if it should prove on further investigation that it never had any capital at all; and that the £20,000 was a myth—a dream—a false pretence—a hocus pocus, and a sham? They state that the total liabilities of the concern are £364,636. 3s. 1d.; and they estimate its assets, including £58. 17s. 11d. in cash, property (we presume the office fittings), and good, bad, and doubtful debts, at £55,086. 13s. 4d.—a sum sufficient—if the agents of the law do not swallow it all up—to pay a dividend of three shillings in the pound. What if it should turn out that not half, or quarter of this sum is available for distribution among the depositors? Whatever may be the results in this respect, we can but express our earnest hope that the accountants have had good reason for estimating them so highly, and that at least this small modicum will sooner or later be shared among the unhappy dupes of one of the most nefarious swindles that ever, even in this age of commercial immorality, defrauded thousands of innocent people, and scandalized the public.

Our present purpose is to show that the report of Messrs. Harding and Pullein has by no means laid bare all the secrets of the Association, and that a fuller and far more searching investigation is necessary, not so much in the interest of the depositors as in that of the public, in order that an example may be made of the guilty parties, whether they be one or many, and whether they be "noble," "learned," "reverend," "gallant," or "honourable" gentlemen, or simply dishonourable and fraudulent perverters of other people's money to their own uses. The system of "decoy-ducks," in the shape of lords and other titled persons, who lend their names and sell their characters to joint-stock speculations for the sake of the paltry emoluments which they pretend to earn by sitting at boards of direction, or by the gift of shares for which they have not paid, has been carried to such lengths as to have become disgraceful and intolerable. Mr. Peter Morrison may have been principally, but he has not been solely to blame for the inception and conduct of the Deposit Bank. He could not have done what he has done without the co-operation of colleagues or accomplices, and if there be any men among the directors who are not men of straw, they ought to be made responsible in purse and person for the wrong which they not merely permitted, but aided to inflict.

It appears from the Act of Parliament, the 17th Victoria, cap. 43 (2nd June, 1854), that the National Assurance and Investment Association was originally formed on the 28th of May, 1844, by nine persons, of whom Mr. Peter Morrison was not one. These nine speculators declared its objects to be—

Firstly—The mutual insurance of lives, endowments, and deferred sums and annuities.

Secondly—The receipt and investment of money in progressive stock, either for accumulation by adding the annual interest to the principal sum, or for yearly income by paying the interest as dividend.

Thirdly—The granting of loans upon real and personal securities, and advances upon investment stock.

The Association was, on the 8th January, 1845, formally registered at the Joint-Stock Companies' Office, pursuant to the 7th & 8th Vict., c. 110, sec. 58, as a joint-stock company, existing on the 1st November, 1844, and carried on business until the end of the year 1851, at 4, Lancaster-place, Strand. Its business, it appears, was neither profitable nor extensive; and when, in December, 1851, Mr. Peter Morrison first became connected with it, he found its affairs in a state of all but hopeless confusion. It is evident, however, that he did not consider them to be so utterly desperate as to render him hopeless of putting them right—or, at all events, so far right as to make of the Association the nucleus of a greater and bolder scheme, to be empowered hereafter "by special act of Parliament," and of which he should be the manager and chief agent. On the 29th of December, 1851, a deed of settlement was prepared, and signed by eighteen persons, of whom only one, Mr. Joseph Macardy, was a party to the original deed of 1844, and in which the names of Lord Keane, Mr. N. Denys, Major Adair, the Hon. Benjamin Boothby, and Mr. Peter Morrison, appear for the first time. The deed provided that the title of the Association should be the "National Assurance and Investment Association," and that its funds should be divided into three classes, viz. :—

The Mutual Investment Fund, to be "composed of that portion of the moneys received and to be received for investment, and of the additions to be made thereto from time to time by accumulation and otherwise," such

mutual stock to be exempt from all liability arising out of the Assurance department.

The Mutual Assurance Fund, to be composed of moneys received and to be received in respect of assurances on lives, "on condition of participating in profits thereof."

The General Fund, to be composed of moneys received and to be received for investment in the capital stock of the Association (which was limited to £100,000.), and of all moneys received in the Assurance department, other than those belonging to the Mutual Assurance Fund.

The Association forthwith removed to 3, Pall Mall East, and took steps to procure a private Act of Parliament, enabling it to sue and to be sued in its corporate capacity, but which Act was not obtained until June, 1854. Armed with this authority, which appears to have been obtained by the personal exertions and untiring zeal of Mr. Peter Morrison, though at the cost of the depositors, who were coming slowly in with their little dribbles of hard-earned money, the Association burst into the full glare of publicity. The funds of the depositors, and not of the shareholders, were unsparingly used for the purpose, as may be judged from the fact that the advertising expenses of the London Board or chief office, from that time till the final bursting of the bubble, are estimated at the magnificent sum of £25,426. 2s. 1d., exclusive of the similar expenses of the fourteen branch offices, at Bath, Birmingham, and elsewhere, estimated at upwards of £35,000. Its now first, but never legal title of Bank of Deposit, was, for a long time, kept in the background, the directors seeming only desirous to court this enormous publicity to procure business as life assurers, and to prefer the private agencies of its directors in town and its fourteen branches all over the country, to induce small capitalists, in the humbler walks of life, to put their money into the fiery crucible, in which it ultimately melted, evaporated, and dispersed into thin and empty air. By degrees the title of "Bank of Deposit" was more openly assumed, and some of the early prospectuses, omitting all mention of the Life Assurance Branch of the concern, not only stated that the company was established in 1844, but led it to be inferred that its special Act of Parliament was obtained in that year, and declared its objects to be "the opening to the public of an *easy and unquestionably safe mode of investment, with a high and uniform rate of interest.*" Easy, most easy, the mode undoubtedly was, and thousands of widows, orphans, and aged depositors, who have no resource left but the workhouse, and no hope but the grave, are at this moment ready to testify, with tears and groans, to the plausibility, no less than to the cruelty, of the robbery of which they were the victims.

In the year 1854, if we are to believe that Messrs. Harding & Pullein are thoroughly as well as accurately informed, the Association, instead of having a capital of £100,000, as Mr. Peter Morrison and his noble, gallant, reverend, and honourable co-directors pretended, by their public advertisements and announcements, had a capital of £19,900 only, which fluctuating capital never at any time exceeded £20,000, and which gradually dropped down to £13,400. We believe that it will be found, on further investigation, that there never in reality was any capital at all, if by the word capital we are to understand such tangible, satisfactory, and intelligible matters as golden sovereigns, convertible notes of the Bank of England, Exchequer Bills, or money in the funds, or any piece of paper of more negotiable value than the title-deeds to an estate in the moon, or to the possession of a hundred thousand acres of cloud or mist. The concern was insolvent in 1851, when the undaunted Mr. Peter Morrison first took hold of it, and the progress of the insolvency, under his adventurous management, was steady and rapid. How steady and how rapid the decline was may be seen by the following table of figures, which we owe to the scrutiny of the accountants, and which forms a pregnant commentary upon the financial genius and fatal facility of sinking possessed by the managing director. The amounts inserted in the first column "do not," say the accountants, "include any losses by bad debts or unsound investments, as it does not appear that such items have at any time been dealt with :—"

	Loss by Interest and Expenses to the 31st December in each year.			Amount appearing to be due to Depositors on 31st December in each year.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1852	...	4,969	10 0	...	4,303	8 0
1853	...	12,259	6 10	...	30,543	0 5
1854	...	18,105	15 5	...	79,196	16 5
1855	...	33,804	17 5	...	118,205	15 9
1856	...	48,782	5 6	...	164,822	12 5
1857	...	66,661	16 5	...	179,740	17 3
1858	...	92,376	3 1	...	226,362	8 1
1859	...	112,628	15 0	...	296,078	9 0
1860	...	147,935	14 9	...	348,096	18 9

This was a bad state of affairs to begin with, and a worse to end with. Though the money of the depositors came rolling in, the interest of their money had to be paid to them, half yearly and yearly, out of their own funds, and not out of the earnings of the Association, which not only earned nothing but lost money by everything it touched, in the desperate attempt to relieve itself, and which at the same time squandered immense sums in reckless advertising—to keep itself before the public—and attract and entice new dupes. So "hard up" were they at this time—if we may use an expressive vul-



garism—that, in their greediness, they actually received deposits of so small an amount as twenty-four shillings, and looked upon a five pound note as a fortunate wind-fall.

Some time in 1857, when things were in this miserable state, Mr. Peter Morrison—having formed the acquaintance of a gentleman now, if not then, a member of the House of Commons—and who is well known for the skill and dexterity which he displays either in launching a joint-stock speculation, or in breaking up her timbers, when she is buffeted by the waves among the rocks and shallows of financial embarrassment or *quasi* bankruptcy, was by him introduced to an Italian gentleman of the name of Garelli. This fortunate introduction seemed to Morrison to be the crowning point in the bank's fortunes. But, as Solon said to Croesus, it is unsafe to call any man fortunate till you know his end—and the same may be said of a speculation. The connection thus formed, instead of being a success, or the stepping-stone to success, proved ultimately to be the main predisposing cause of the collapse and overthrow of the whole concern. The circumstances are thus faintly indicated in Messrs. Harding and Pulein's report:—

"In 1859, several payments, amounting in the aggregate to £7,477. 16s. 6d., are stated to have been made to, or on account of, one F. Garelli, described as the 'gérant' or manager of the 'Livorno Bank of Commercial Credit,' at Leghorn, with whom arrangements had been made to the effect that the Livorno Bank should become proprietors of capital stock of the National Assurance and Investment Association to the amount of £80,000; no cash was to be paid by the bank, but the amount was to be secured by the deposit of certificates for shares in the capital of the bank. This arrangement appears to have been carried out so far as the exchange of certificates, but some of the 'capital stock' certificates of the association were circulated, and the above amount is alleged to have been expended in buying them up. The certificates of shares in the Livorno Bank are still among the securities, but we have not valued them in the statement of affairs."

It is on this little but highly interesting episode in the affairs of the Bank of Deposit, that we consider it necessary to throw a further light. If the Court of Chancery do not elicit the facts, the Court of Bankruptcy may be more successful; and if the Court of Bankruptcy should fail, the Central Criminal Court may perhaps be made available for the purpose.

Garelli had opened, in Moorgate-street, sometime in the years 1857 or 1858, a London branch of what he called the Bank of Leghorn, and of which he was the gérant or principal. He had appointed a clever—perhaps we might say a too clever—Frenchman, of the name of De Massiac, known as the Count de Massiac, to be manager of the branch concern in Moorgate-street. The nobility of the "Count" was problematical; though there was a little, very little whisper heard, only by a select few, that the title of Chevalier might not have been inappropriately bestowed upon him—Chevalier of that particular order, whose members wear neither cross nor ribbon, and with which kings and emperors, and other bestowers of honour and rank, have nothing to do—Chevalier, in fact, of the world-renowned order, *de l'industrie*. The *Times* newspaper in March, 1858, had begun to sound the alarm about the Bank of Deposit, and had asserted in its city article, that so far from having a capital of £100,000, the Bank had no capital at all. This was too near the truth to be agreeable, and was, perhaps, the whole truth—and the naked truth. Such publicity, coming from such a source, was alarming, and Mr. Morrison and his co-directors appear to have thought it more than time to create a fictitious, if they could not scrape together a real, capital. Garelli's bank offered them—or seemed to offer them—the desired instrument and opportunity. After a series of meetings between the manager of the "Deposit Bank and National Assurance and Investment Association," of No. 3, Pall-Mall East, on the one side, and the principal of the Bank of Leghorn, and the manager of the Moorgate-street branch of that establishment, on the other, the result was that Signor Garelli bought of Mr. Peter Morrison eighty shares of £1,000 each, or £80,000 worth of stock of the Deposit Bank, for which, not being able, or disposed to pay in cash, he mortgaged a corresponding amount of shares in the Bank of Leghorn. This, with the nominal sum of £20,000—which never existed, and which is reported on by Messrs. Harding & Pulein, and reduced to about £8,000,—made up in theory, but not in fact, the loudly and extensively advertised capital of £100,000 on which the bank based its operations. Ten shares of £1,000 each were awarded by Garelli to the member of Parliament, for his good offices in bringing the parties together.

As the money of depositors, allured by the high names and brilliant promises of the prospectus, continued to flow over the counter in Pall-Mall East, an arrangement was suggested for amalgamating the business of the Bank of Leghorn with that of the Deposit Bank, and Mr. Peter Morrison, as representative of the Deposit Bank, and as a preliminary step to ulterior negotiation, deposited with the Bank of England the sum of £10,000. The main object, however, was to operate on the Paris Bourse with the shares of the Bank of Leghorn, in the mode that French and English jobbers so well understand, and to get up a speculative value for them at a time when no market existed. The movers in this business were Mr. Morrison and the "Count" de Massiac; but the negotiation came to a premature end in consequence of some disputes that arose between De Massiac and his principal, and which caused Garelli to dismiss De Massiac, and to write to Morrison repudiating certain of his acts. The directors of the Deposit Bank became alarmed, and though Garelli and De Massiac afterwards settled their differences à l'amiable, Morrison and his co-directors

refused to part with the £10,000 in cash, or to amalgamate their bank with Garelli's on such terms. Thus the arrangement fell through. Mischief was the result to both parties. Garelli's bank could not bear up against the loss of the expected £10,000, and the Bank of Leghorn, as far as its London branch in Moorgate-street was concerned, came to a sudden and disastrous collapse. The furniture and fittings of the office were seized under an execution and sold for arrears of rent, and Garelli left London in 1859, either to confine his financial genius to his native Italy, or to try the air of Paris, and certainly with a parting malediction against the Bank of Deposit and its managing director, who, he asserted, had been his ruin. De Massiac had not lived all this time and been a great man in Moorgate-street without money to support him. The London business of the Bank of Leghorn not having provided him with the wherewithal to keep up so high a social position, he had had recourse to the friendly aid of the bank in Pall Mall East, which whatever may have been its deficiencies as regards shareholders, justified its title by having a considerable and yearly increasing number of depositors. That seemingly prosperous, but in reality insolvent concern, advanced him, from time to time, various sums of money. De Massiac was entrusted by Morrison with a bill of exchange for a large amount, accepted by the Imperiale Assurance Company of Paris, in order that it might be discounted in Paris, and the proceeds handed over to the Bank of Deposit. De Massiac went to Paris; he discounted the bill; he kept the money,—*Venit, videt, vicit*. The Bank of Deposit was robbed of the money, but it did not or could not prosecute De Massiac, who prudently kept out of the way. It was, under all the circumstances, good policy to keep quiet. Consequently the dirty linen of the establishment was washed at home, and the outer world had no suspicion of the dirt, discomfort, and misery of the washing day.

Garelli, when he left London, took with him a portion of his eighty shares of £1,000 each in the Bank of Deposit. On five of these he managed to borrow £1,200, in Leghorn, of Signor Castelnovo, a highly-respectable merchant and banker of that city; eleven of them had passed into the possession of De Massiac; and twenty-four had been disposed of to various other parties; so that after a short time only forty remained in Garelli's hands. As nothing could be done with them either on the Bourse of Paris or the London Stock Exchange, Garelli, in want of money, applied to a fifth or sixth rate banker in Paris, who in a small way carried on a business similar to that of the *Crédit Mobilier*, and obtained an advance upon them. This "banker" speedily made his way to England, and looking upon himself as the purchaser of the shares, and not as the mere pawnbroker who had them in pledge, made application to Morrison to have them formally registered in his own name. Morrison required time to consider what course to pursue; and the French banker, knowing, apparently, or suspecting with a degree of shrewdness that did honour to his business capacity, that the affairs of the Bank of Deposit were not in a condition to bear litigation, and its consequent publicity, endeavoured to expedite matters by intimidation, and drew up an advertisement for insertion in the *Times*, offering to sell the shares for any sum that might be tendered. The advertisement never appeared; but the threat of its publication was powerful enough to induce the managing director of the Bank of Deposit to make an offer of £3,000 for the shares. The offer was accepted, and the money paid. How much the Frenchman gained by the transaction we cannot say; but Morrison, and the Bank of Deposit, gained a respite from ruin and exposure. There were other transactions between the French banker and the Bank of Deposit, which did not turn out to the advantage of the latter, and which we pass over, to come to the more important fact that Garelli disputed the right of the Frenchman to sell, or of the Bank of Deposit to buy £40,000 worth of shares—on which he had procured an advance, but which he denied that he had sold. A litigation arose before the French courts; Morrison was summoned to Paris; and, *pendente lite*, the shares were ordered to be deposited with Laffitte, Blount, & Co., of Paris, where they now remain. The ten shares of £1,000 each, awarded by Garelli to the Member of Parliament for his good offices, would at that time have been vendible for less or more if thrust upon the market; and knowing this, Garelli, who considered that the good offices of the member in question had come to nought, gave a letter to the Paris banker already mentioned, authorizing him to call upon the member and demand back the shares. The member was wise. He gave them back, and washed his hands of the whole business. The shares were too hot to hold, and he dropped them accordingly, without having burned his fingers.

While these matters were in progress, the services of the Chevalier, that is to say, of the Count de Massiac, promised to become of importance to the establishment in Pall Mall East, to circumvent or meet any hostile action that might be undertaken by Garelli, whose enmity was not likely to have been appeased by the loss of the shares which he had pledged to the French banker. It was true that the matter of the discounted bill and the misappropriated cash was an ugly one, to say the least of it, and one that, under ordinary circumstances, could not have been forgiven; but his aid and co-operation were too valuable to be lost, even for reasons so weighty as these, and an undertaking was given him that, if he would return to London, he should not be molested on that account. De Massiac returned accordingly to England, and, after a short interval, nothing daunted by his previous mishaps and reverses, started a company in Victoria-street, called the General Wine Company. He made the most of his opportunities, and managed to borrow considerable sums from the Bank of Deposit, on the security of the dock warrants for the wines which he had ordered on credit from France. Ultimately De Massiac had to leave



England for England's good, though not, we believe, by ordinary process of law. The General Wine Company became bankrupt, leaving large liabilities to the Bank of Deposit and other creditors, and no assets.

But De Massiac, who lived by his wits, had, as a matter of course, his wits about him. He held eleven shares of £1,000 each in the Bank of Deposit, which he had received from Garelli, and caused the managing director to be served with the copy of a writ for their nominal value. If the Bank of Deposit had had courage to resist the claim, there can be little question that De Massiac would have lost the day had the case gone for trial; but publicity, though it might have been the ruin of De Massiac, would certainly have been the ruin and collapse of the Bank. It was doubtless very disagreeable to Mr. Morrison and his co-directors to part with hard cash to such a man and for such a purpose, but it was thought the best policy to obtain possession of the shares, *per fas*, and not *per nefas*, and the business was ultimately arranged in a manner satisfactory to the Count, but very unsatisfactory to Mr. Morrison and the board of management, and which would have been still more unsatisfactory to the luckless depositors, had they been in the secret.

The Bank of Leghorn soon shared the fate of its branch in Moorgate-street, and the General Wine Company in Victoria-street, and broke up without appreciable assets; its shares at this moment being of the exact value of waste paper—neither more nor less.

We return to the five shares once held by Garelli, already alluded to, and which passed into the hands of Signor Castelnovo, in Leghorn, who purchased them for 30,000 francs, or £1,200, this gentleman pressed the Bank of Deposit, some time in 1860, either to purchase them, or to render an account; and it was, we are informed, this particular claim that, coming inopportunely upon the back of the others of which we have spoken, first attracted public attention to the Bank, and excited the suspicions that eventually produced the inevitable and long foreseen crisis which Morrison had done so much to avert.

We reserve for future occasions the history of the connection of the bank with the various schemes mentioned in Messrs. Harding & Pulletin's report, especially the Imperiale Assurance Company of Paris and the State Fire Insurance Company. The latter purported to have half a million of capital, and powers to increase to a million and a half, and to be under the management of a board of directors, of whom Lord Keane was chairman, aided by Peter Morrison, the promoter and manager, together with Major Adair, Mr. N. Denys, the Rev. Mr. Bean, Mr. P. Carstairs, the Hon. B. Boothby, as well as another name not advertised in connection with the Deposit Bank; that of H. B. Sheridan, Esq., M.P. for Dudley. We also reserve the Consols Investment Company, another head of the hydra, in which are to be found the names of Mr. Peter Morrison, Major Adair, the Rev. Mr. Bean, Mr. N. Denys, and others, all unhappily but too familiar to the depositors in the Bank of Deposit and National Assurance and Investment Association.

Pending further revelations, we can but state that, if we have made any error in this little history, or done any injustice to Mr. Peter Morrison or any other of the parties whose names we have been compelled to mention, we shall be ready, on sufficient authority, to put the matter right, and to open our columns to explanation or denial. The character of the commercial public is compromised by such continual exposures of the rottenness of speculation in our day, and we hope that in this flagrant case an example will be made—not for the sake of punishment for the past, but of warning for the future.

## THE PEERAGE OF THE LAST TWO CENTURIES.

(Continued from p. 632.)

### CHAPTER VII.

In January, 1806, Pitt and his party resigned, and were succeeded by the Administration of "All the Talents," under Lord Grenville as First Lord of the Treasury, with Fox as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and with Lord H. Petty (now Marquis of Lansdowne) as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The "innings" of the Whigs was of short duration, occupying only about a year, but it was signalized by an extensive batch of new peerage creations. Lord Eldon, of course, had to resign the Great Seal, which was placed in the hands of Mr. Thomas Erskine, M.P. (a younger son of the then Earl of Buchan), who was created Lord Erskine (1). The Irish Marquis of Sligo was now created Lord Montague (2), and the Earl of Granard, Lord Granard (3), in the peerage of the United Kingdom; the Scottish Earls of Eglinton and Lauderdale at the same time obtaining seats in the House of Peers as Lords Ardrossan (4) and Lauderdale (5). Mr. John Crewe, many years M.P. for Cheshire, Mr. William Lygon, a Worcestershire gentleman of wealth and influence, and a supporter of the new Ministry in the House of Commons, were respectively created Lords Crewe (6) and Beauchamp (7); and Mr. W. B. Ponsonby, whose father and brother had held some high posts in Ireland, was created Lord Ponsonby (8). Lord Newark (see Chapter VI., No. 91) was shortly afterwards advanced to the earldom of Manners (9), Lord Walpole (see Chapter III., No. 71) to the earldom of Orford (10), which had become extinct on the death of Horace Walpole some ten years before; and Lord Grey to the earldom of Grey (11). The Scotch Earl of Cassilis, too, was created Lord Ailsa (12) in the peerage of the United Kingdom; the Earl of Breadalbane took his seat in the Legislature as Lord Breadalbane (13); and the gallant Admiral Gardner, in reward of his naval services, was raised to the peerage as Lord Gardner (14). Mr. Thomas Anson, who had been M.P. for Lichfield for many years was raised to the viscounty of Anson (14), which had been conferred, in 1747, on his maternal uncle, the great Admiral, but had become extinct on his decease in 1762.

In the following year the ministry (which had been much weakened by the death of Fox in the September of 1806), resigned upon the refusal of the King to allow them to bring in a Bill opening the professions of the army and navy to the Catholics; and the Duke of Portland was entrusted with the formation of a new administration, which included the names of Castlereagh, Hawkesbury, Canning, Mulgrave, Eldon, and Spencer Perceval.

Very few changes, however, took place in the roll of the House of Peers, in consequence of the change of administration—the only two creations of the year consisting in the elevation of Mr. Manners Sutton, the new Irish Lord Chancellor, to the peerage as Lord Manners (15); and that of Admiral Sir James Gambier to the Barony of Gambier (16). General Lord Lake also was advanced to the Viscounty of Lake (17). The Scottish Lord Cathcart, an able and distinguished general, was created Viscount Cathcart (18), in the Peerage of the United Kingdom; and Viscount Lowther, one of the wealthiest owners of close boroughs in the kingdom, was created Earl of Lonsdale (19).

The year 1808 passed by without a single permanent addition being made to the House of Lords; the only creation being the Barony of Hawkesbury (20), which was conferred on the eldest son of the Earl of Liverpool, but became merged in the earldom a month subsequently.

In 1809 the Duke of Portland resigned office, owing to disputes between Lord Castlereagh and Canning, and overtures were made, but without effect, to form a coalition between Mr. Spencer Perceval, and Lords Grey and Grenville. The result was that, at the close of the year, Mr. Spencer Perceval was installed in office as premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the Earl of Liverpool, the Marquis Wellesley, Lord Palmerston, and Lord Eldon as his coadjutors.

The Scottish Earl of Hopetoun was now created Lord Hopetoun (21), in the peerage of the United Kingdom. Lord Harrowby, a brother of one of the ministry, was created Earl of Harrowby (22); and the name of Sir Arthur Wellesley, K.B., now in command of the army in the Peninsula, appears for the first time on the peerage roll, he having been created Viscount Wellington (23) in the August of this year.

The years 1810 and 1811 passed by without any fresh creations being made in the Peerage, Mr. Perceval remaining at the head of the administration. In the November of the former year, owing to the mental malady of George III., the Prince of Wales was nominated Prince Regent.

In May, 1812, on the assassination of Mr. Perceval, the formation of a new Ministry was entrusted by the Prince Regent to the Earl of Liverpool, of whom we have just spoken (see above, No. 20), and who continued to hold the reins of control nearly till his death.

The accession of the new Ministry was signalized by some fresh creations.

The Earl Camden was raised to the marquise of Camden (24), the Earl of Northampton to the marquise of Northampton (25), Lord Mulgrave to the earldom of Mulgrave (26), and the Lord Harewood to the earldom of Harewood (27). About the same time the eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland was called to the Upper House in his father's barony of Percy (28), and Viscount Wellington was created Earl and Marquis of Wellington (29) for his services in the Spanish Peninsula.

The only alterations in the Peerage that we find recorded as having taken place in 1813, were the bestowal of the earldom of Minto (30) on Lord Minto, who had held several diplomatic posts, and had discharged the high office of Governor-General of India, and the elevation of Sir Charles Whitworth to the viscounty of Whitworth (31).

In 1814 our arms abroad were crowned with such signal success that the Marquis of Wellington was raised to the highest grade of the Peerage as Duke of Wellington (32); Lord Cathcart (see above, No. 18)—who subsequently united several high diplomatic to his military honours—was created Earl Cathcart (33); Admiral Lord Keith was raised to the viscounty of Keith (34); and the Scottish Earl of Aberdeen, in requital of his diplomatic services, was created Viscount Gordon (35) in the English Peerage. In the same year a gallant admiral, Sir Edward Pellew, was created Lord Exmouth (36), and four Peninsular generals and companions in arms of the immortal Duke, viz., Sir John Hope, Sir Thomas Graham, Sir Stapleton Cotton, Sir Rowland Hill, General W. C. Beresford, and Sir Charles William Stewart were raised to English baronies, respectively as Lords Niddry (37), Lynedoch (38), Combermere (39), Hill (40), Beresford (41), and Stewart (42). The latter ultimately became Marquis of Londonderry, as we shall see hereafter, and is better known by that title.

In 1815 the Earl of Cholmondeley was raised to the Marquise of Cholmondeley (43); Viscount Whitworth, who had been our ambassador at Paris, and was now Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the earldom of Whitworth (44); Lords Brownlow and Eliot to the earldoms of Brownlow (45), and St. German's (46), respectively; at the same time Lord Boringdon (see Chap. VI., No. 12), was created Earl of Morley (47), and Lords Bradford, Beauchamp, and Gardner, were created, respectively, Earl of Bradford (48), Earl Beauchamp (49), and Viscount Gardner (50), the latter being thus rewarded for his splendid naval services. The year 1815 was signalized also by the bestowal of the following baronies:—those of Bowes (51), Dalhousie (52), Meldrum (53), and Ross (54), on the Scottish Earls of Strathmore, Dalhousie, Aboyne, and Glasgow; those of Grinstead (55), Foxford (56), and Melbourne (57), on the Irish Earls of Enniskillen and Limerick, and Viscount Melbourne; while Lord Francis A. Spencer, who had been many years a supporter of ministers in the House of Commons, was created Lord Churchill (58), and General Harris was rewarded, for his gallantry and ability at Seringapatam, by the barony of Harris (59), now so honourably borne by his grandson. Before the close of the same year Lord Verulam was raised to the earldom of Verulam (60), Lord G. Leveson Gower, a younger son of the Marquis of Stafford, and already a distinguished member of the diplomatic corps, was created Viscount Granville (61); and Lord Algernon Percy, a younger brother of the Duke of Northumberland, was raised to the peerage as Lord Prudhoe (62), a title now merged in his person in the dukedom.



In the following year, 1816, Lord Exmouth (see above No. 36), was advanced to the Viscounty of Exmouth (63), and the Earl of Rawdon was created Marquis of Hastings (64), for his services as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the forces in India.

In 1817 Mr. Charles Abbot was created Lord Colchester (65), in which town his father had held a small living, on his retirement from the Speakership of the House of Commons, where he had presided for many years.

In 1818 and 1819 there were no peerage creations whatever; nor indeed down to the death of George III. in the January of 1820.

During the above period, embracing just fourteen years, we find out of a total of sixty-five creations, that two were bestowed upon the law, Erskine and Manners; six on the navy, viz., Gardner (Barony and Viscounty), Gambier, Keith, and Exmouth (Barony and Viscounty); fourteen upon the army, viz., Cathcart (Viscounty and Earldom), Lake, Wellington (Viscounty, Marquisate, and Dukedom), Lynedoch, Beresford, Combermere, Hill, Stewart, Niddry, Harris, and Hastings; nine on persons who had held high administrative posts, viz., Hawkesbury, Mulgrave, Camden, Gordon (Aberdeen), Minto, Whitworth, Granville, and Colchester; and one on an eldest son of a Peer, viz., Percy; total 32, leaving a balance of 33 to be divided between rewards of ministerial support, and successful courtiers.

(To be continued.)

### THE FISHES OF THE CLUPEA FAMILY.

HOW THEY ARE CAUGHT AND CURED.—IN TWO PARTS: PART FIRST.

THE family circle of the *Clupeidæ*, if not so extensive as that of the *Gadidæ* or the *Salmonidæ*, is quite as interesting so far as the natural and economic history of its individual members are concerned; while the industrial features connected with the capture and care of these useful fish form a curious chapter in the annals of British industry. The salmon is exceedingly valuable individually; it is peculiarly the rich man's fish and a prime member of the family will fetch quite as much money as a southdown sheep; but in the gross, the salmon fisheries are not so valuable as these we are about to describe. The herring may be most truthfully called the poor man's fish, and although its individual value, even at the dearest seasons, is represented by a penny, in bulk the fish is of great value, and the countless quantities which are taken from the sea amount annually to a very large sum of money. In fact, the herring fishery, especially in Scotland, represents a great industrial feature of the country, and as a nursery for seamen, employing as it sometimes does, some twenty thousand sailors, it is unsurpassed.

The principal member of the *Clupeidæ* family, as a representative of sea wealth, is the common herring (*Clupea harengus*). Next in order is the pilchard and sprat. These three members will form a sufficient text for us to write from, as the whitebait may be looked upon more as curiosities of natural history than as aids to our food commissariat, and moreover, the natural history of the whitebait has already been discussed in these columns.

The three members of the family which we have named are each exceedingly beautiful, the common herring is especially so. To see a crowded net taken from the sea at early dawn is a bit of the picturesque which once seen cannot be easily forgotten. The body of the herring is exceedingly handsome in shape, being finely proportioned in length and breadth; and, when first taken from the waters, it appears like a rich mass of melting silver, shot with blue, and emits a kind of phosphorescent gleam which is really beautiful. The animal when caught utters a faint *cheep* and then dies, expiring almost before one has time to lay it down. The sprat is a much smaller fish than the herring; it ranges from two to five inches in length, and is of proportionate girth and weight. Its belly is serrated, and it is thought to be a distinct species, and not the young of the herring, as has been often asserted. The pilchard does not differ very greatly from the common herring; it is shorter in the body, and is not so finely proportioned, nor so bright in its colours. The Twaite shad and the Alice shad having been discussed along with the whitebait, we need not recur to these fishes; but we shall take this opportunity to say a word or two about the anchovy. This member of the *Clupeidæ* is scarcely a British fish, although it has been occasionally taken on the Hampshire coast or off Cornwall, and sometimes in the Firth of Forth. The Mediterranean may be said to be the home of this dainty little fish, which is caught during the night time by means of small meshed nets, lights being at the same time brandished about to attract the finny moths to destruction. As usual, our naturalists only give the baldest particulars of the anchovy; when it spawns or how long the young fish take to arrive at maturity is not stated in any account of the fish which we have consulted. The anchovy has been often enough represented by the sprat, great quantities of which are annually used in the preparation called "essence of anchovy."

The sprat fishery is carried on in the early winter months, coming in with the new Lord Mayor; and the best idea of the yield of this kind of sea wealth is obtained in London. The arrival of vessels at Billingsgate, each laden perhaps with a ton or two of sprats, is a signal to the costermongers of the great metropolis which is instantly answered. Thousands of these industrious travelling merchants are ready to purchase, and in a brief space of time the contents of the sprat vessels are found in the remotest corners of London, where a dish of sprats is often enough the only kind of fresh fish that the poorer classes are able to obtain from one year's end to the other. In Scotland, also, large quantities of this miniature herring are annually taken, and retailed in those towns nearest the sea. An attempt was made last year to prevent the sprats from being caught in the Firth of Forth, on the ground that large quantities of young herrings were taken in the same nets; but by perseverance the fishermen were able to obtain from the Board of White Fisheries a relaxation of the order, and sprat fishing went on as usual. There can be no doubt, however, that if the sprat be not itself the young of some fish of the herring kind, that it is the cause of a vast destruction of herring-fry, thousands of which are annually taken along with them. The only real difference observable between the young herring and the sprat, consists in the latter having a serrated belly, a feature not traceable in the mature herring. There has been from first to last a great diversity of opinions on this subject, and no solution of the question has yet been effected; but we happen

to know, from experiments now being conducted by a gentleman versant in fish-life, that a settlement of this little difficulty is not far distant.

The mode of capturing sprats in Scotland is similar to the mode of taking pilchards by the seine net, only the nets are much smaller in the mesh than those which are used for pilchard or herring; but the boats are much the same. On the English coasts the stow-boats are still in use for spratting, although we believe they are considered illegal, or at least were recommended by a committee of the House of Commons to be done away with, as being so destructive to the more valuable kinds of ground fish. The boats which are used on the English coasts for taking sprats average about fifteen tons burden, and the netting is peculiar, being a kind of bag net fully thirty yards in length; its mouth is formed by two beams about eighteen or twenty feet long, and the meshes vary in size, being very small at the extreme end of the net, which is usually divided into four portions, known as "the wides," "the eaters," "the hose," and the sleeves." When the net has to be cast into the water it is necessary for the boat to anchor, and the net is then let down into the sea and kept attached to the vessel by means of a stout hawser seventy fathoms long. The net is then hauled along the portion of water fixed upon, and if so fortunate as to hit upon the shoal a large capture is ensured. A great many boats are engaged in this and other kinds of fishing, and the stow-boatmen usually own their vessel between them, each person having certain shares. The principal man may have as many as four shares, for which he will have to keep the boat in repair; the master, or principal fisherman, may have a share and a half, and so on, down to the youngest apprentice, who may have a half or quarter share. Most of these partnerships are held in particular families, and have gone on through many generations.

Before the time of railways, and when there were none but local markets, sprats were frequently used as manure. In those days there was such a plentiful supply of white fish in the Scottish markets, that to sell sprats in any of them was looked upon as an insult. The usual mode of disposing of these fish was for cadgers to hawk them through the country in donkey-carts.

"In the winter of 1829-30," says Yarrell, "sprats were particularly abundant; large loads, containing from 1,000 to 1,500 bushels, bought at sixpence a bushel, were sent up the Medway as far as Maidstone to manure the hop-grounds."

We shall now take leave of the sprat, and introduce the pilchard, for which there are extensive fisheries about the Land's-end. This fish is a prominent member of the herring family, and was at one time plentiful in some of the Scottish estuaries. Up to the year 1816, great quantities of it were caught in the Firth of Forth; but since that period, with the exception of a few stray fish, none have been caught. In its appearance, the fish partakes of the beauty of the common herring, having the same silvery appearance. Now-a-days the pilchard fishery is confined to the coast of Cornwall, where it affords occupation for two or three months annually. The pilchard was stated by Pennant to be a migratory fish, the same as the herring; that, properly speaking, its *habitat* was at the North Pole, where it was habituated to everlasting winter; and that it only came here for the purpose of spawning, the fry, as soon as they were hatched, following the parent fish to their wintry home. Of course, this is all wrong; the principal members of the *clupeidæ* family are native here, and never travel to any great distance. The pilchard seems to be as capricious in its resorts as the herring. Sixty or seventy years ago they used to be found on our coasts till Christmas, and the fisherman derived great advantages from this long sojourn, as he had six months' fishing instead of two or three.

There are two modes of capturing pilchards; one by means of the drift-net, which, as it will be referred to in our account of the Scottish herring fishery, need not be further noticed at present; the other mode of capture is accomplished by means of a seine-net—or rather two nets, the stop seine and the tuck-seine. These two instruments of capture are of considerable value, representing, along with the necessary boats, a capital of something like a thousand pounds. About the time when fish are expected to visit the coast, a person is stationed on some elevated place commanding a view of the bay, in order to give notice of the approach of a shoal. He is armed with a bunch of furze, which he uses by way of telegraph, so as to direct the operations of the fishermen. When fish are signalled by this watchman, the three boats of any "concern" at once start off. One contains the stop-seine, another known as the "volyer," the tuck-seine, while the third, which is the smallest of the three, and is called a "lurker," contains the master and three men. As the pilchard is a shy fish, easily alarmed, the master directs the operations of the crews in the two large boats, and so rapidly are all the operations performed, that a shoal can be completely surrounded by the netting in about ten minutes—indeed, five minutes is the time allowed for paying out the net.

A quotation from one of our best working naturalists will show how the operation of surrounding the shoal of fish is carried on. Mr. Couch explains the method of catch in very simple language. He says:—"The seine at first forms a curved line across the course of the fish; and while the two larger boats are employed in warping the end together, the 'lurker's' station is in the openings, where, by dashing the water, the fish are kept away from the only place of escape. When the seine is closed and the ends are laid together, if the body of the fish be great, and the sea or tide strong, the net is secured by heavy grapnels, which are attached to the head-ropes by hawsers.

"When the evening has closed in and the tide is low, they proceed to take up the fish. For this purpose, leaving the stop-seine as before, the volyer passes within it, and lays the tuck-seine round it on the inner side; it is then drawn together so as gradually to contract the limits of the fish, and raise them from the bottom. When disturbed they become exceedingly agitated; and so great is the force derived from their numbers and fear, that the utmost caution is used lest the net should either sink or be burst. When the tuck-seine is thus gradually contracting, and the boats surround it, stones suspended from ropes, called minies, are repeatedly plunged into the water at that part where escape alone is practicable, until the fish then to be taken are supported in the hollow or bunt of the seine." It will readily be supposed when a large shoal is hit upon that the scene of capture is one of great bustle and animation. The pilot who is watching on the cliffs goes off at once into a state of frantic excitement the moment he descries upon the waters the dark red shadow of the shoal; the members of the various concerns (a "concern" is a kind of company or partnership of eighteen or twenty



people who agree to share the proceeds), jump with joy and activity; the women and children all display a similar propensity, and wag their tongues with amazing glee and dexterity. A stranger happening on the scene would at once fancy that the whole inhabitants had gone demented.

After the fish have been safely enclosed in the seine, which becomes, so to speak, a large salt-water reservoir, the members of the "concern" take their own time to carry them away. The great circular stop-net is safely tied together at the ends, and anchored, and the tuck-seine having been introduced, the fish are taken out by means of baskets and pitched into the boats, and so taken ashore to the curing-houses. This is generally accomplished about midnight, and if the shoal surrounded be a large one, which is often enough the case, the simple fisher-folk become quite drunk with joy, and shout and gesticulate with great vehemence, especially the women.

The pilchard yields another product besides the cured fish, viz., oil. To obtain this, the fish are treated in a different way from the common herring; when they are carried on shore to the curing houses, they are built up in round rows into stacks, a layer of salt between each layer of pilchards; all this is neatly accomplished by the women who are called bulkers. The fish are left in this state for a period of four weeks, during which the oil flows into the gutters or drains prepared for its reception; of course it is sold, and forms a considerable portion of the income from the fishery. At the proper period bulk is broken, that is, the pyramids of fish are disturbed, the salt in which they have been imbedded is laid away to be used again next year, the worthless fish are picked out, and together with much offal, &c., sold for manure. The pilchards, before being packed in the large hogsheads in which they are sent away, are carefully washed, after which cleansing process they are christened "fair maids" by the fishermen. The largest quantities of these cured fish are sent abroad, finding a ready market in the cities of France and Italy.

We have no means of knowing the exact quantity of pilchards which are caught from year to year. In the olden times, when our shoals of fish were thought to be inexhaustible, immense takes occurred. We have been told that, on one occasion, upwards of two thousand hogsheads were caught in one haul. The annual catch varies considerably, ranging from 5,000 to 40,000 hogsheads per annum, each hogshead containing 3,000 fish. Every family "salt in" a small barrel of fish, and each vessel at the Cornish ports lays away a little cargo for the use of the crew. The supplies are falling off, and we observe from a recently published communication by a gentleman resident on the Cornish coast, that, notwithstanding a comparatively good year now and then, the fishery is not the important branch of industry and source of wealth to Cornwall which it was forty or fifty years ago.

#### CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE.

It will scarcely be credited, that up to within a very recent date, chemists should have remained in ignorance of the composition of the dark pigment which forms the basis of the photographic image. Not that the subject has been unexamined; on the contrary, from a very early date the discussion of this problem has been a favourite subject with experimental philosophers. We attribute its unsettled state to the existence of a theory, the advocates of which have displayed greater ingenuity in combating the results of their opponents, than in advancing contrary facts of their own. The sensitive surface, upon which the sun's rays effect the darkening action, consists of chloride of silver, one part chlorine and one part silver, and it is also an undisputed fact, that the action of light tends to split up this compound into its component elements; but by some process of reasoning, instead of looking at the action in the simple light of a decomposition into silver and chlorine, some writers on the subject assume that the decomposition stops half way, and that whilst half the chlorine goes off, the other half still remains united with the silver, constituting a hypothetical sub-chloride of silver. Unlike most disputes in science and elsewhere, the subject narrows itself into a simple matter of fact; both parties are agreed at the starting point, each side even accepts as true the experiments advanced by the other to support his hypothesis; there is not the slightest difference of opinion or ambiguity respecting the meaning of words or expressions employed (so fruitful a source of quarrel), whilst the real point at issue is a pure matter of fact—"Is there, or is there not, such a body as sub-chloride of silver in the darkened photographic image?" apparently as easy to decide, by a properly qualified chemist, as the question, "Is there, or is there not, such a body as the moon in the sky?" is to an ordinary individual. It becomes, therefore, of interest, for more reasons than one, to examine the causes which have occasioned apparently so simple a problem to remain unsettled.

Upon consideration of all that has been lately written upon this subject, it appears that the only argument in favour of the subchloride hypothesis, is based upon the fact that so small a quantity of metallic silver as exists in the finished photograph is not supposed to be capable of such darkening properties. The inference is therefore jumped at that intermediate between the white chloride of silver and the pure metal, there existed a compound possessing the requisite intensity of darkness, but which its advocates confessed their inability to produce in a tangible form for chemists to analyse. In vain their opponents brought forward fact after fact to prove that such a body as sub-chloride of silver did not exist; in vain did they prove that by acting upon the darkened body with the ordinary solvents for chloride of silver, they could dissolve out the whole of the latter, and leave a dark residue of pure metal. In answer to the first argument, it was stated by the opposition that because a thing had not hitherto been shown to exist, that was no reason why it might not exist; and in answer to the second, the strange theory was advanced that the subchloride of silver, to prove the existence of which such fierce battle had been done, was a body of such excessive instability, that even when formed it could not exist in the presence of the chemicals to which it was exposed, but instantly split up into metallic silver and chlorine; apparently forgetting that this argument would tell with greater force against them for them, since it admitted that the dark pigment of the finished photograph was metallic silver, and therefore limited the possibility of the existence of their favourite subchloride to the few seconds of time which might elapse during the passage of the impressed image from the printing frame to the fixing bath. In order, however, to definitely settle the question, it was necessary either for the one side to produce their subchloride of silver, and

show that it had the qualities attributed to it; or for the other side to prove that metallic silver was capable of producing all the colorific effects which were ascribed to it. The former has not yet been satisfactorily done; but the latter has recently been proved to be the case in a most complete manner.

One of the first who investigated the subject in a systematic manner, with a view to ascertain what was the real action of light on the white chloride, was Spiller. This chemist was engaged upon the subject for several years, but owing to the impossibility of procuring the darkened product quite free from the unaffected chloride, the former surrounding the latter with a protecting coat, he was unable to solve the question analytically, although he stated that the weight of chemical evidence appeared to justify the conclusion that metallic silver, and not the hypothetical subchloride, was the invariable product of the action of light upon white chloride of silver; and that he was satisfied that the difficulty in the way of accepting this conclusion was to be overcome by the well known alterations of colour, which a change in the state of aggregation of a body communicated to it, quoting Faraday's different varieties of ruby and violet gold as analogous cases.

This explanation, the credit of which is due to Spiller, has been recently revived and extended by Malone, at a meeting of the Photographic Society where he exhibited experimentally the different conditions of colour under which the metals, silver and gold, could exist, and proved conclusively to our minds that the varying colours and alterations of tint assumed by the photograph in different stages of its treatment, were due solely and entirely to the metal itself in different stages of aggregation.

He first exhibited Faraday's methods of preparing ruby gold, by adding a little phosphorus in ether to a solution of auric chloride. The metal was thrown down in such a wonderfully fine state of division that it was incapable of communicating opacity to the liquid, and appeared as a ruby-coloured solution, the metal not settling to the bottom of the fluid, even after several years' repose. It was then shown that the addition of various bodies, which ordinarily do not affect metallic gold, would alter this ruby liquid to purple, by altering the size of the particles of metal. Having shown this of gold, the same thing was proved to take place with solution of silver, the phosphorus solution precipitating the metal in different colours of brown, and of so high a colorific property, that it retained its intensity of colour after considerable dilution. The same effect was supposed to take place when gelatine, soaked in nitrate of silver, was exposed to the light, the dark colour which it produced being due to finely divided metallic particles. The properties of these coloured solutions formed by finely suspended gold and silver, were shown to be strictly identical with the properties of the similarly coloured photographic image, and by appropriate treatment with the different toning solutions, all the alterations of colour which were accustomed to be noticed in the stages of photographic printing and fixing were readily imitated. The actual metallic composition of these coloured fluids has not, it is true, been proved, except by synthesis and analogy; but the train of argument seems complete, and amply sufficient to prove that to the different tinctorial properties of finely divided metal are due the various colours—red, brown, purple, or black—which we are accustomed to see in the photograph, without any necessity of assuming the existence of an unknown body gifted with improbable properties.

#### SCIENTIFIC INTELLIGENCE.

##### ASTRONOMY.

ENCKE'S COMET.—Appended is an ephemeris of this comet for every third day during the coming month:—

Greenwich Mean Midnight.	Apparent R.A.			Apparent Decl.		
	h.	m.	s.	°	'	"
Dec. 1	22	21	47.16	+6	37	29.6
4	22	52.02	6	9	42.8	
7	21	19.09	5	44	13.3	
10	20	6.21	5	20	51.4	
13	19	11.05	4	59	24.6	
16	18	31.09	39	36.2		
19	18	3.58	21	5.9		
22	17	45.57	4	3	30.8	
25	17	33.56	3	46	21.0	
28	17	23.40	28	58.4		
31	22	17	9.97	+3	10	35.4

THE TRANSIT OF MERCURY.—The weather, which in England and France seems to have been almost universally unfavourable for the observation of this phenomenon, was finer in Russia and Italy, and important observations were made at Rome, Warsaw, and Nicolaieff, but these have not yet been published. By M. Simon, the Director of the Marseilles Observatory, and M. Petit, of Toulouse, the termination of the transit was partially seen; and the observation, imperfect though it was, proved that the planet was still on the disc a minute after the time of egress, as given by the old tables. This is confirmed by an observation made at Manchester by Mr. Slugg, whose description of the transit we give:—

"At daybreak, the horizon was seen to be streaked with strata of clouds, so that it was a few minutes after eight before the sun was high enough up to be so free from the clouds as to present a well-defined disc in the telescope. In an inverting one, Mercury was then seen as a round black spot on the lower part of his disc, travelling, as we know, at the rate of 100,000 miles an hour, in a direction nearly similar to that of a line of drawn from the figure 2 to the figure 6 on the face of a clock. He was then, of course, nearer to the latter than the former. Above him were visible two very large magnificent groups of spots, rendering the phenomenon still more interesting. It was exactly twenty minutes past nine when, the transit being completed, the edge of his disc joined the edge of that of the sun, at a spot a degree or two to the left of the lowest part of the round edge of the sun. To one residing in such a city as Manchester, surrounded by smoke and chimneys, where opportunities of seeing Mercury are so exceedingly rare, the moment was an exciting one. Gradually his disc grew less and less, till there was but a speck of dust in appearance resting within the otherwise unbroken rim of the sun's margin. In a second it was gone."

OBSERVATORY ON MOUNT ARARAT.—The *Allgemeine Zeitung* states that the Emperor of Russia has placed 125,000 francs at the disposal of M. Otto



Struve for the purpose of forming an observatory on Mount Ararat. This, as also Captain Jacob's intended observatory on the hills near Poonah, may be regarded as a result of the "Astronomer's Experiment," so admirably conducted by Professor Piazzi Smyth on Teneriffe.

#### PHYSICS.

**SPECTRUM ANALYSIS.**—MM. Kirchhoff and Bunsen have recently communicated to Poggendorff's "Annalen" the results of their analysis of the compounds of the new metals cesium and rubidium. A translation of this paper has appeared in the last number of the *Philosophical Magazine*. To procure a few grammes (a gramme is rather over fifteen English grains) of these new metals, those chemists were compelled to operate upon more than forty tons of the mineral waters of Dürkheim, and ninety pounds of lepidolite.

Since these experiments, however, we learn from the *Paris Cosmos* that lithioniferous mica has been found to contain three per cent. of these new substances, thus allowing them to be prepared in greater quantity. M. Seybel, a manufacturing chemist at Liezing, near Vienna, has also obtained a large quantity of this mica from Finnwale, in Bohemia, and of lepidolite from Rozena, in Moravia, for the purpose of extracting lithium, cesium, and rubidium. The atomic weights of cesium and rubidium have been determined as follows:—

Cs. 123.35,  
Rb. 85.36,

hence, with the exception of gold and iodine, cesium possesses the largest atomic weight of all the known elementary bodies.

Regarding the application of the recent discoveries on this subject to the solar photosphere, and to light, M. Morren, of the Faculty of Sciences at Marseilles, has recently made known the results of his latest experiments. He states that the yellow ray D, on which the assumption that sodium is present in the sun is based, may equally prove the presence of many other metals, iron and mercury among the number, to the spectra of which it is common. This last metal, mercury, especially, gives this ray double in a marvellous manner, together with the most beautiful violet ray imaginable. M. Morren considers that our present imperfect knowledge of the different metallic spectra necessitates a great reserve; the great number of bands seen by the physicists quoted by MM. Kirchhoff and Bunsen, Van der Willigen, Masson, and Angström, having been very small compared with those made visible by modern appliances. Using, for instance, a pile of sixty-five elements, with carbon electrodes, and examining the spectrum of iron under a high magnifying power, the number of bands is so excessive that they can only be counted with extreme difficulty; in presence of these facts M. Morren points out the almost impossibility of establishing coincidences between these bands and Fraunhofer's lines. Before, therefore, affirming that such and such metals produce the inverted spectrum of the sun by their presence in the photosphere, we must become perfectly acquainted with the spectra of both metals, gases and other bodies, a work of immense labour and difficulty.

M. Morren also points out that the extreme red ray of potassium, which is stated by Messrs. Kirchhoff and Bunsen to correspond to the solar line A, does not do so, being much less refrangible, and consequently much more difficult to perceive even when the red rays of the solar spectrum are seen in all their beauty. This red ray of potassium is, in fact, according to M. Morren, the least refrangible ray known.

M. Morren concludes by stating that he has proved, by means of the spectrum, that the blue part of the flame of a candle, alcohol, paper, gas, &c., is due to the combustion of proto-carbonated hydrogen, and not of the oxide of carbon, as has been generally supposed.

We recommend those of our readers who are engaged on this subject to peruse a paper by Mr. Wilson in the last number of the *Philosophical Magazine*, on the readings of the graduated arc in spectrum analysis, and distortion, or apparent exaggeration, of the central portions of the spectrum. This latter, which, unless corrected, might prove a grave source of error, is obviated by a new scale, which at the same time gives a method of magnifying any portion of the spectrum, and of determining its limits with greater accuracy.

#### LEARNED SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

**Statistical Society**, November 19, Colonel Sykes, M.P., V.P., in the chair.—W. R. D. Gilbert, Esq., was elected a Fellow of the society. Mr. J. T. Hammack gave an account of the proceedings of Section F of the British Association at its recent meeting at Manchester. A paper, by Mr. J. T. Danson, "On the growth of the Human Body in Height and Weight in Males from Eighteen to Thirty Years of Age," was read. The author alluded to the little that is known of the average height and weight of the human body, and the uncertainty which prevails as to the precise age at which men arrive at physical maturity in those respects. M. Quetelet, in his work "Sur l'Homme," had given some information on the subject; but the author considered that he had drawn his averages from too small a number of facts, the data being often obtained from the observation of less than fifty individuals. Mr. Danson then stated that his own observations were made upon the prisoners confined in the Liverpool Borough Gaol, extending over 4,800 cases. Rejecting, for various reasons, the ages under eighteen, he confined his inquiries to males from that age up to thirty. The lowest number at any age from which he had constructed an average was 95, the highest was 200. As regards both height and weight the results were extremely irregular, and did not indicate progression. For instance, the average height of 185 men at twenty-four was less than that of 200 men at twenty-three; and 100 at twenty-six gave a lower average than 200 at twenty-five; while 100 at thirty gave a lower average than 95 at twenty-nine. With regard to weight, the observations indicated an excess at age twenty-five, while at ages twenty-four, twenty-six, twenty-eight, and thirty, it seemed deficient.

The author concluded that the number of observations made to discover the average height or weight of men should be much larger than those even he himself had taken, or than was generally supposed to be necessary; that there is reason for supposing that even among men of the same class and habits, living in the same locality, those who attain a given age in one

year have not the same or very nearly the same average height or weight as those who attain the same age in years preceding or following.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Hammack, Mr. Welton, Dr. Guy, Mr. Hendricks, Mr. Newmarch, Mr. Lumley, and the Chairman, took part.

**Chemical Society**, November 21.—Dr. Hofmann, President, in the chair. Peter McEwan, Esq., was elected a fellow. Dr. Thudichum read a paper "On Leucic Acid and some of its Salts." The acid was made by treating leucine with nitrous acid gas, and exhausting the product with ether. Its formula was determined to be  $C_{12}H_{12}O_6$ . Dr. Bence Jones read a paper "On the occurrence of Crystalline Deposits of Phosphate of Lime in Human Urine." The formation of these crystals was shown to depend upon the amount of lime present, and upon the degree of acidity. Mr. E. J. Mills read a paper "On Sparteine," the volatile oily base obtained by Stenhouse from *Spartium scoparium*. 150 lbs. of the plant yielded 22 cubic centimetres of sparteine. It was shown to be a diammoniac base, having the formula  $C_{30}H_{26}M_2$ .

**Meteorological Society**, November 20.—Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S., read a most valuable and remarkable paper "On the average duration of North, East, South, and West winds in each month of the year, and departure in each month of all the years from the average."

The author believed that up to the present time there had not been any satisfactory discussion on the direction of the wind, nor have any safe results been deduced as to the average duration in the year of the winds from different quarters, and their average distribution over the several months of the year; nor was it known whether the more or less frequency of any or of all winds followed any particular period or gale. In his investigations upon the temperatures of the last ninety years he had frequently felt he was investigating an effect the cause of which must, in a great measure, have been the quarter from which the wind blew; and in a paper published in the "Philosophical Transactions," in 1850, on the monthly temperature of the preceding seventy-nine years, he had stated that the numbers in the tables which accompanied that article showed that "causes exist at different times which raise or depress the temperature, and which continue through long periods." The main cause, he then thought, was the more or less continuance of cold or warm winds; and with the view of determining, if possible, how far those results had been influenced by the wind, he extracted and arranged every observation of the direction of the wind, and its strength, for all those seventy-nine years. But although the result was an indication of a connection, it was by no means such as he could announce or use. The data were insufficient; the recorded winds were those which the observer considered the prevailing ones, and were noticed only twice during the day, and the observations separated for the most part from each other by a few hours only. Since the year 1850 the author had been more and more convinced of the necessity of investigating the direction of the wind; but for the results to be of any value, the method adopted must be on a totally different principle from that which has hitherto been in use, viz., that of using the prevailing direction to the neglect of all other directions. Instead of this partial method, it was necessary to give to all due weight, and thus to properly determine the average direction.

Another cause of the want of knowledge has been the almost utter neglect of night observations. At the Royal Society, for instance, the observations were taken at 9 a.m. and 3 p.m., neglecting entirely the remaining eighteen hours, and it is evident the knowledge sought must be based upon night observations as well as those of the day, and, therefore, to be done effectually must be done mechanically by an instrument. The wind, in fact, must be made to record its own direction, strength, and velocity. In the year 1841, Osler's anemometer was erected at the Greenwich Observatory, and for twenty years has now been under the author's superintendence,—an interval of time of sufficient length to permit the deduction of some safe results. The first step in the work was to extract from the record sheets the direction of the wind at every hour, the next step to take the mean of these twenty-four directions, and to consider it as the true mean direction of the wind for the day. In this way voluminous but most accurate tables, showing the daily direction of the wind from 1841 to 1860, inclusive, have been constructed by Mr. Glaisher. The first results display the average durations in each month of the year and the departure in each month of all the years.

From these tables also were collected all those days in each month when the air had passed from one of the sixteen points of the azimuthal compass, and when it had blown at any part of the day with a pressure equal to or greater than a quarter of a pound to the square foot of surface. Days of less pressure than this were classed as calms. On some days it was seen from the tables that the average direction had not been from one of the sixteen points, but had been intermediate between two of them; in such cases, if only one has appeared in the month, the author has referred it to one of the adjacent points, but when there has been two or more he has referred one half the number to each of the adjacent points. By these means a second series of tables has been elaborated, showing the number of days the average direction of the wind was from each of the sixteen points. The next process was the reduction of all these details to the four cardinal points forming another set of tables. And from the results contained in this last series the author had determined the prevailing wind for every month; which results he has also concisely reduced to a tabular form.

Some curious theoretical indications seem to be exhibited in these tables, which were made still more manifest by the facts being displayed in the form of diagrams, the lines of which conveyed their results prominently to the eye.

It was found that the prevailing direction of the wind from 1841 to 1847 was S.W. for 3 months, N.W. for  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , N.E. for 1 month in each year; and that there was no instance of a prevailing wind from the N.W. or E. in those years during any one month. From 1848 to 1856 the prevailing winds were S.W. for 4 or 5 months generally. In 1857 it was prevalent for 6 months; in 1854 for  $7\frac{1}{2}$  months; but in 1855 for 3 months only, whilst the N.W. wind prevailed from 2 to 3 months, and the N.E. from 2 to 3 months also. The N.E., in 1853, was for 4 months; in 1855 for  $6\frac{1}{2}$  months, and the W. wind was prevalent for 1 month in the years 1851 and 1853. From the year 1857 the S.W. wind has prevailed for 8 months in the year on the average. In the year 1851 it prevailed for 10 months; the N.W. wind being prevalent about 1 month, and the N.E. about 2 months, while



in no instance was the N. wind prevalent for any month. The author thought, therefore, that we were soon to be passing through a period very similar in its character to that at the beginning of the series.

These results, too, were interesting as indicating a marked difference in the direction of the wind, in the years 1848 to 1856, from those immediately preceding 1848 and those following 1856, but still they may be deceptive, and are not of reliable value, because they are based upon the prevailing winds to the neglect of all others. For example, take January, 1841, we find 5 days from the N.; 3 from N.E.; 2 from E.; 1 from S.E.; 2 from N.W.; 1 calm; in all 14 days neglected, and not allowed to exercise any weight. If we consider the most prevalent wind alone, this wind, namely, the south-west, was the most prevalent in ten months of the year 1841; and if all the months were calculated in the same manner there would be a hundred and forty days in the year which would not be allowed any influence. In some cases the difference would be even greater.

The author therefore opposed all idea of making further use of these observations, and took instead the sums of the numbers in every year in each wind, referred to the sixteen points of the compass, and in this way formed another table showing the number of days of mean direction of the wind in different directions in every year. The mean of these numbers gives, for the twenty years, an average number of days above the mean direction for the N. wind of 40.70; N.E., 47.55; E., 22.55; S.E., 19.90; S., 34.20; S.W., 104.0; W., 38.3; N.W., 24.1; Calm, 33.7. If the difference be taken, then, between these numbers and those of each year, the departure in every year from the average direction of each wind will be shown. This was set out in tabular form, and showed that in some years the departure from the average has been very great. The following are the extremes of excess and deficiencies:—

1849.—N.	18 days in excess.	1857.—20 in defect.
1855.—N.E.	20 "	1841.—29 "
1858.—E.	15 "	1845.—12 "
1848.—S.E.	16 "	1847.—16 "
1847.—S.	21 "	1843.—16 "
1859.—S.W.	24 "	1856.—24 "
1860.—W.	26 "	1850 & 1852.—11 "
1845.—N.W.	14 "	1852.—16 "
1846.—Calm	52 "	1860.—27 "

But the most remarkable feature in the table is the fact of so many groups of + and — signs coming three and four together.

Reducing these results to the four cardinal points, the mean number for N. is 76.6; S., 196.0; E., 56.6; W., 102.0; which, with 33.7 for calms, make up the yearly sum.

The direct or retrograde revolutions of Osler's anemometer for the whole period of twenty years were then noticed, and having determined the average number of days in each year of the direction of each wind, it became necessary to determine their distribution over the year. For this purpose the author had constructed further tables of details, and as one of their results, showed the average number of days in each month of each wind, as found from the observations 1841 to 1860, referred to the sixteen points of the azimuthal circle and reduced to the four cardinal points: the correctness of which was proved by the results of other observations. Important as the anemometrical observations at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich are, yet they exhibit the results for only one spot on the earth's surface, and they would be greatly increased in value if they could be combined with results deduced from other places.

The author, in concluding, expressed his conviction that in determining the laws of periodical atmospheric currents we must call in aid more instrumental means, and that especially some should be placed in a more equable climate than our own. The labour connected with the combination and working out of continuous registers for many years is so great as to put the work to be done almost beyond the means of individuals; at the same time, however, the author believed that such results from a good number of places, reduced alike, and connected together, would do more to advance meteorology than any other class of observations.

As Mr. Glaisher's paper must form the starting for future meteorological investigations, we trust soon to see it printed, with all its elaborate details, in the Transactions of the Meteorological Society.

**Royal Asiatic Society**, November 23, Lord Strangford, President, in the chair.—Arthur Russell, Esq., M.P., and Charles Wells, Esq., were elected Resident Members, and Professor Max Müller, with Dr. J. R. Ballantyne, were elected Honorary Members. At this, the first meeting of the session, a paper was read by O. De Beauvoir Priaux, Esq., "On the Indian Embassies to Rome from the Reign of Claudius to the Death of Justinian," four in number, as noticed by historians, viz., one to Trajan, one to Antoninus Pius, the third to Julian, and the last to Justinian. This communication may be esteemed a continuation to those on the subject of Indian embassies to Rome formerly given by Mr. Priaux, and affords him the opportunity of inquiring into the state of commerce, and the route by which it was carried on during the period in question; also into the amount of information to be gleaned in the works of contemporary writers as to the state of society in India. From these descriptions Mr. Priaux is enabled to distinguish the Buddhists from the Brahmins; whereas the companions of Alexander the Great appear to have known the Brahmins only. The power and the destruction of Palmyra, the wealth and the decay of Alexandria, with their causes, are investigated. The hope is held out, in conclusion, that in a future paper Mr. Priaux will discuss the very different conditions under which the trade of India returned, after a while, to Alexandria.

**BLEACHING FLOWERS.**—Light is as much a necessity to the healthy development of plants, as is a due supply of heat and moisture. In darkness the green colouring matter, "chlorophyll," cannot be developed. Advantage is taken of this circumstance in the blanching of salads and vegetables, and the same process is now being applied to flowers. It appears that in Paris there is a great demand for white lilacs for ladies' bouquets in winter, and as the common white lilac does not force well, the purple "Lilas de Morly" is used. The flowers of this variety, when made to expand at a high temperature, in total darkness, are of a pure white; those of the Persian lilac will not whiten.

## NECROLOGY.

### SIR J. C. HAWKINS, BART.

On Saturday, the 9th inst., at the house of his sister, Frenchay, near Bristol, aged 79, Sir John Caesar Hawkins, Bart., of Kelstone, Somerset. The late Baronet was the second son of the late John Hawkins, Esq. (eldest son of Sir John, first Baronet, many years Serjeant-Surgeon to His Majesty King George III.), by his wife Anne, daughter of the late Joseph Colborne, Esq., of Hardenhush House, Wilts, and was born in 1782. He succeeded to the title on the demise of his elder brother, the late Sir Caesar Hawkins, Bart., in 1793. He was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he received the honorary degree of M.A. in 1804. He married in 1804, Charlotte Cassandra, eldest daughter of the late William Surtees, Esq., of Hedley, Northumberland, by whom (who died in 1855) he had issue a family of three daughters and nine sons. He is succeeded in the title by his grandson, John Caesar Hawkins, Esq., born in 1837, only surviving child of his eldest son, the late John Caesar Hawkins, Esq., by his wife Louisa Georgiana, daughter of Thomas B. Rickets, Esq. Several members of the family of Sir J. C. Hawkins have risen to high positions in the medical profession, and one cousin is at present Provost of Oriel College, Oxford. The grandfather of the first Baronet was a Colonel in the loyalist army, temp. Charles I., and, according to Clarendon, held out Greenland House, one of the most strongly fortified houses in Buckinghamshire, against the Earl of Essex and his Roundhead adherents, till it was battered to pieces about his ears by the cannon of the Parliamentary forces.

### J. H. HODGETTS FOLEY, ESQ.

On Wednesday, the 13th inst., at Prestwood, near Stourbridge, aged 64, John Hodgetts Hodgetts Foley, Esq., M.P. The deceased gentleman was the younger of the two sons of the late Hon. Edward Foley, of Stoke Edith Park, Herefordshire, second son of the first, and brother of the second and late Lord Foley, by his second wife, Eliza Maria, daughter and heir of John Hodgetts, Esq., of Prestwood. He was born in July, 1797, and was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he was a Gentleman Commoner. He entered Parliament in 1820, as M.P. in the Liberal interest for Droitwich, a borough which he continued to represent till the close of the first Reformed Parliament; and he did not re-enter the walls of St. Stephen's until 1847, when he was chosen to represent the Eastern Division of Worcestershire, for which he sat till his death. By his wife, Charlotte, daughter of John Gage, Esq., of Rogate Lodge, and cousin of Viscount Gage, he has left issue Mr. Henry John Wentworth Foley, M.P. for South Staffordshire, who was born in 1828, and is married to a daughter of the first Lord Vivian. The late Mr. Foley was a Magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant for both Staffordshire and Worcestershire, and was most popular as a landlord and a neighbour in both counties.

### THE ABBÉ LACORDAIRE.

On Friday, the 22nd instant, at the College of Sorreze, in the south of France, aged 59, the Rev. Jean Baptiste Henri Lacordaire, the eminent French orator. He was the son of a physician, and was born at Recey sur Ource, in the Cote d'Or, May 12th, 1802. His mother, an intellectual and religious woman, sent him to the Lycée at Dijon, where he remained for some years, and imbibed many sentiments strongly liberal, if not revolutionary, in their tendency. As he grew up to manhood he resolved to become, first, a tragic actor, and afterwards a lawyer; he actually took lessons from Talma with these views, and afterwards studied in the law school at Dijon. Here he fell in with De Maistre and Lammenais, whose intercourse had a powerful influence on his after life. In 1822 he went to Paris, and went into residence with an advocate of the Court of Cassation, where he attracted the notice of M. Berryer, the eminent lawyer. But he soon found himself sated with fame; and weary of the world and its cares, he betook himself to religion. In 1828 he was ordained a Priest, and was appointed Assistant Almoner to the College named after Henry IV. In this capacity he laboured hard, and at one time was on the point of proceeding to America as a missionary; but the revolution of 1830 altering his plans of action, he now resolved to devote the rest of his life to the work of revivifying the spirit of religion, which was well nigh extinct among his countrymen. He was one of those noble natures who could not endure that a dull and unintelligent assent to certain dogmas should be substituted for that happy union of faith and reason which is the soul of religion. This object which he had in view brought him into contact with Montalambert and other kindred spirits, in company with whom he more than once had to defend himself from the charge of violating the traditional policy of the religious authorities. The rest of his career is soon told. In 1835-6 he preached in the Cathedral of Notre Dame those eloquent "Conferences" which have made his name a "household word" in France, as the man who, above all others, brought reason to the aid of the Roman Catholic faith. In 1839 he became a monk of the Dominican order; in 1848 he was elected to the Legislative Assembly, but almost immediately afterwards resigned his seat, not feeling himself in his right place in a popular political chamber. During the last few years of his life he presided over the free college of Sorreze, where he died. In 1860 he was elected to the chair in the French Academy, which was rendered vacant by the death of M. de Tocqueville.

**SIR J. H. SCHOEDDE, K.C.B.**—On Thursday, the 14th instant, at Lyndhurst, Hants, aged 75, Lieutenant-General Sir James Holmes Schoedde, K.C.B., and Colonel of the 55th Regiment of Foot. He was born in 1786, and entered the army at the usual age; he served in the Egyptian campaign of 1801, and throughout the Peninsular war; he was created a K.C.B. in 1842, for his services in China, and was also appointed an Aide-de-Camp to Her Majesty, and received the thanks of Parliament.

**SIR R. ST. GEORGE, BART.**—Recently, at Landour, Upper Provinces, India, aged 21, Sir Richard De Lantour St. George, Bart. He was the eldest son of the late Sir Theophilus John St. George, Bart., of Woodsgift, and Kilkenny (who was formerly a magistrate at Port Natal), by Caroline Georgiana, daughter of Joseph de Lantour, Esq., of Hexton House, Herts, and was born in 1837. He was educated at Addiscombe, and entering the East India Company's Artillery, served with much distinction before Delhi, during the Indian Mutiny. He succeeded to his father's title in 1857. The title now devolves on his younger brother, William Edward, who was born in 1838.

**LADY C. CHETWYND.**—On Sunday, the 24th inst., at Grendon Hall, near Atherstone, Warwickshire, aged 46, the Lady Charlotte Chetwynd. Her death was occasioned by a fall from her horse on the previous day. Her ladyship was the eldest daughter of the third and late Marquis of Downshire, by the Lady Maria Windsor, daughter of the fifth Earl of Plymouth. She was born June 30th, 1815, and in 1843 she married Sir George Chetwynd, Bart., by whom she has left issue a young family.



**CAPTAIN D. L. ST. CLAIR, R.N.**—On Sunday, the 24th instant, at Brighton, aged 78, David Latimer St. Clair, Esq., Captain R.N., of Staverton Court, Gloucestershire. He was third son of Colonel William St. Clair, of the 25th Foot (a gentleman descended from a common ancestor with Lords Sinclair, Rosslyn, and Caithness), by Augusta, daughter of John Tinling, Esq. He entered the navy in 1796, and served with much distinction on various stations. He retired in 1847. He was a Magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant for Gloucestershire. He married, in 1819, his cousin, Elizabeth Isabella, daughter of John Farhill, Esq., of Chichester (tutor to H.R.H. the Duke of Kent), and granddaughter of Sir Thomas Wilson, Knt.

**CAPTAIN MACDOUGALL, R.N.**—On Tuesday, the 19th inst., at Russell Lodge, Morningside, Edinburgh, Patrick C. MacDougall, Esq., Commander, R.N. He was the second son of Rear Admiral John MacDougall, of Dunolty Castle, co. Argyll, who is the lineal representative of the Macdougalls, Lords of Lorne, and admitted chief of that name.

**PROFESSOR CUMMING.**—On Sunday, the 10th inst., at North Runceton Rectory, Norfolk, aged 84, the Rev. James Cumming, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Cambridge. He was born in 1777, and, entering at Trinity College in 1797, graduated B.A. in 1801, as a wrangler, and was subsequently elected a Fellow of his college. More than forty years ago he succeeded to the Rectory of North Runceton (a living in the gift of the Gurney family), and was appointed Professor of Chemistry in 1815. He was also a Fellow of the Royal and the Geological Societies, and was known in the Cambridge world as the author of a "Manual of Electro-Dynamics." At his death he was the Senior Professor in the University; but he discharged the duties of his office with zeal and efficiency until within about a year of his death.

**THE REV. H. CRIPPS.**—On Thursday, the 7th inst., at Preston Vicarage, co. Gloucester, aged 73, the Rev. Henry Cripps, M.A., Vicar of Preston All Saints and of Stonehouse, Gloucestershire. He was the second son of the late Joseph Cripps, Esq., who sat as M.P. for Cirencester from 1806 till 1841, by Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Harrison, Esq., of Lee, Kent, and sister of the late Treasurer of Guy's Hospital, and was born in 1788. He was educated at the Grammar School, Reading, and at Merton College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1809, and proceeded M.A. in 1812. In 1817 he was appointed Vicar of Preston, and to that of Stonehouse in 1826. Mr. Cripps, who was a Magistrate for Gloucestershire, married, in 1812, Judith, daughter of William Laurence, Esq., of Cirencester, by whom he had issue. His eldest son is Mr. Henry William Cripps, M.A., of New College, Oxford, and Barrister-at-Law.

**THE REV. C. T. ERSKINE.**—On Tuesday, the 5th inst., at Wakefield, aged 40, the Rev. Charles Thomas Erskine. He was the youngest son of the late Hon. H. D. Erskine (a son of the fourteenth Earl of Mar), and was born in 1821. He was educated at University College, Durham, where he graduated B.A. in 1845, and proceeded M.A. in 1848. He was for some time Fellow of his College, and held the curacies of Thelbridge, Devon, and of Alverthorpe, near Wakefield.

**THE REV. J. M. WHALLEY.**—On Sunday, the 27th ult., aged 68, the Rev. John Master Whalley, of Clerkhill, Lancashire, and Rector of Slaidburn, Yorkshire. He was the third son of the late Sir James Whalley-Smythe-Gardiner, Bart., whose father, Sir John Whalley, first baronet (so created in 1783), assumed the additional name of Gardiner on succeeding to the estates of the late Sir W. Gardiner, whose title had become extinct. Mr. Whalley was born in 1793, and was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, where he graduated S.C.L. in 1813. He was ordained Deacon and Priest in 1817, by the Bishop of Chester, and had held the rectory of Slaidburn, near Clitheroe, since the year 1838. He was heir presumptive to the title of his nephew, the present Sir John B. Whalley-Smythe-Gardiner, Bart., of Roche Court, near Fareham, Hants. He lived and died unmarried.

**J. S. BARRY, Esq.**—On Wednesday, the 29th ult., at Lota Lodge, co. Cork, aged 63, James Smith Barry, Esq. He was the second son of the late James Hugh Smith Barry, Esq., of Marbury Hall, Cheshire, and of Foatz Island, co. Cork, and was born in 1798. He was married, but has left no issue. His sister is married to the Right Hon. T. B. Cusack Smith, Master of the Rolls in Ireland.

**LADY STEPHENSON.**—On Friday, the 22nd inst., at Hampton Court Palace, aged 80, Lady Stephenson. She was the widow of the late Major-General Sir Benjamin Stephenson, G.C.H., who died several years ago.

**DOWAGER LADY TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.**—On Tuesday, the 26th instant, in Lowndes-square, aged 77, Margaret, Dowager Lady Talbot de Malahide. She was of humble extraction, being the daughter of a timber-merchant named Sayers, at Drogheda. In 1806 she became the second wife of the late Colonel Richard Wogan Talbot, of Malahide Castle, co. Dublin, who eventually succeeded to the Irish Barony of Talbot, and was created Lord Furnival in the English Peerage, but was left a widow without issue in 1849.

**DOWAGER COUNTESS GREY.**—On Tuesday, the 26th instant, in Eaton-square, aged 86, the Dowager Countess Grey. She was Mary Elizabeth, only daughter of the Right Hon. William Brabazon Ponsonby, first Lord Ponsonby, by Louisa, third daughter of Richard, third Viscount Molesworth in the Peerage of Ireland, and was born March 3, 1775. In 1794, at the age of nineteen, she married Charles, afterwards second Earl Grey, K.G. (and Premier in 1830-4), by whom she had issue sixteen children, nearly all of whom survive to lament her loss. Her eldest son is the present Earl, better known by his former courtesy title of Viscount Howick.

### WILLS AND BEQUESTS.

**John Stickney, Esq.**, of South-road, Clapham Park, and Tokenhouse-yard, City, died 22nd September last, at his residence, having executed his will in August, 1859, and a codicil in August last, nominating as executors his relict, together with his brother-in-law, Joseph Phillips, Esq., of Stourbridge, Worcester, civil engineer, and David Erskine Forbes, Esq., solicitor, Warrford-court, to whom probate was granted by the London Court, and the personalty sworn under £8,000. Mr. Stickney was a partner in the established firm of Messrs. Barnes, Simpson, & Co., merchants, insurance brokers, and underwriters. He has left his property of which he died possessed, with the exception of some legacies and small annuities, to a few personal friends and domestics, to his relict, and subsequently to her sister, Anna Maria Phillips, the relict taking the property for life, which, on her decease, is to devolve to her sister, one-third absolutely, and the remainder to dispose of by will, and, on failure of her not exercising the right of disposition, to descend to the testator's heirs.

**Capel Hanbury Leigh, Esq.**, of Pont-y-pool Park, Monmouthshire, and of Penarth, Glamorganshire, died at his latter residence on 28th September last, aged 85. His will, which is of great length, was executed on 22nd May, 1860, wherein he appointed his relict, together with George Grey Rous, Esq., of Court-y-rala, Glamorganshire, and the Rev. George Gore, rector of Newton St. Lo, near Bath, executors. Probate was granted in the London Court on the 14th instant, and the personal property sworn under £100,000. This is the will of a gentleman whose death was occasioned, at an advanced age, by the erroneous administration of a poisonous lotion. Mr. Hanbury Leigh possessed very considerable influence, from the commanding position he filled in society, and the melancholy catastrophe of his death has cast a gloom throughout the principality, and more particularly in the locality in which he resided, and was most deservedly respected. Mr. Hanbury Leigh had large possessions, consisting principally of landed estates, in South Wales. The will contains many dispositions. To the relict, in addition to her marriage settlement, is bequeathed an annuity of £2,400, a legacy of £5,000, and the enjoyment of a family mansion, with the use of all the effects contained therein. To his son and heir, John Capel Hanbury Leigh, who is an infant of about eight years of age, Mr. Leigh has devised all his real and landed property, and has made him residuary legatee. The testator has remembered, with the most liberal kindness, all his dependents and domestics, by bequeathing to them annuities and legacies, and also to some personal friends; and the following charities have received his fostering care:—To the Infant School established by him at Tyngath, for the instruction of the children of the workmen employed on his estates and mines, a sum of £1,000 is bequeathed; to the Swansea and Bristol Infirmary £500 each; and to the Bristol Eye Infirmary £200. [For a Memoir of Mr. C. Hanbury Leigh, see our Journal, 5th October, No. 66].

**The Right Hon. Sidney Baron Lord Herbert, of Lea, P.C.**, who died on the 2nd of August last, at his seat, Wilton House, near Salisbury, Wilts, aged 51, had executed his will 10th July, 1858, appointing as executors his brothers-in-law, the Right Hon. Thomas Viscount de Vesci, and Charles Wyndham a'Court Repington, Esq., who proved the same in the London Court on the 21st inst, the personalty being sworn under £160,000. Lord Herbert, the late Secretary at War, was a nobleman distinguished for rank and talent, and for the most eminent and useful political public services, having devoted his whole life to various offices in the State. His loss, which may be considered somewhat premature, has created great regret, and caused a chasm in the political world which will long be seriously felt. Lord Herbert, who was heir presumptive to the earldom of Pembroke, married in 1846, and has left a family of young children, all of whom are under age; and as no mention is made of them in his lordship's will, it is to be presumed that they are provided for under settlement. His eldest son, now Baron Lord Herbert, was born in 1850. To his relict, Lady Herbert, the testator has bequeathed all his disposable estates, real and personal, absolutely, with directions to his executors and trustees to pay therefrom certain pecuniary legacies to friends, his domestic servants, a legacy of £300 to the Salisbury Infirmary, and the dividends arising from the sum of £1,000, which is to be invested in the Bishop of Salisbury, Archdeacon of Salisbury, and Rector of Wilton, as trustees, to be applied for the reparation of the chancel of the church at Wilton, which Lord Herbert, the testator, most liberally erected at his own cost. It is necessary to state that Lord Herbert has appointed his relict residuary legatee. [For an interesting memoir of this much regretted nobleman, see our journal, August 10, No. 58].

**Edwards Atkinson, Esq.**, formerly of Grange Hall, township of Singleton, Lancaster, and late of Lockington, Yorkshire, died on 24th of August last, having executed his will on the 27th of October, 1854, in which he confirms his marriage settlement of the 10th of that month. The executors nominated are W. Brook Addison and Thomas Rennards, Esqs., both residents of Bradford, to whom probate was granted by the London court, on the 5th instant. This gentleman, who resided principally upon his estates in Yorkshire, died possessed of very considerable landed property, and indulged his taste in ornamenting his mansions with specimens of elegance and articles of vertu. The will is of considerable length, and conveys many directions. His widow being amply provided for by marriage settlement and otherwise, the testator has left her a life-interest in the residence at Bankfield and the manor of Grange. To his eldest son he devises his estates, which are subject to certain charges, and has appointed him residuary legatee. There are some annuities and legacies, but they are to different members of his family; also legacies to the executors. The testator has directed the articles of vertu, &c., above mentioned, to be retained by the occupier of his mansion as heirlooms.

**Alexander John Colvin, Esq.**, of Gloucester-place, Hyde Park, who died in September last, at Norwood, executed his will September 4th, 1856, whilst at Portobello, Scotland, which was attested by D. Wielobrocke, M.D., and Lieut. E. H. Jackson. He appointed his daughter, Steuart Amelia, wife of John Dunsmure, Esq., sole executrix, to whom probate was granted by the London Court on the 5th inst. The personalty was sworn under £40,000. This gentleman, who is very respectably connected, has left his property principally to his daughter, his granddaughter, and to his sister's children, the daughter being appointed residuary legatee. The granddaughter takes a legacy of £5,000, and the testator's sister's children £8,000 amongst them. The testator has bequeathed some legacies to other of his relatives and personal friends, and we must not omit to mention that there is one bequeathed to a friend of £500, which is accompanied by an observation possessing much singularity; it runs in substance as follows:—"Being indebted to my friend on leaving for India in the sum of seven shillings, to show that I have not forgotten him, I bequeath him a legacy of £500."

**William Rawlins, Esq., M.D.**, of Alfred-place, Bedford-square, died at his residence on 11th September, 1861. His will bears date 1858, and a codicil 1859, appointing his relict, and his brother-in-law, Joseph Bartholomew, Esq., executrix and executor. This is the will of a physician, whose property appears to consist principally of small freeholds, together with personalty. The freehold portion is devised to his relict for life, but the personalty is bequeathed to her absolutely. Upon her decease the freehold property is devised to some of the testator's nephews and nieces; but much of this latter bequest depends upon contingent circumstances. Dr. Johnson has defined a medical practitioner to be an attendant upon misery and distress. No one, we think, can doubt the correctness and force of this definition, as there is certainly no profession where the common sympathies of our nature are so frequently brought into painful exercise.